



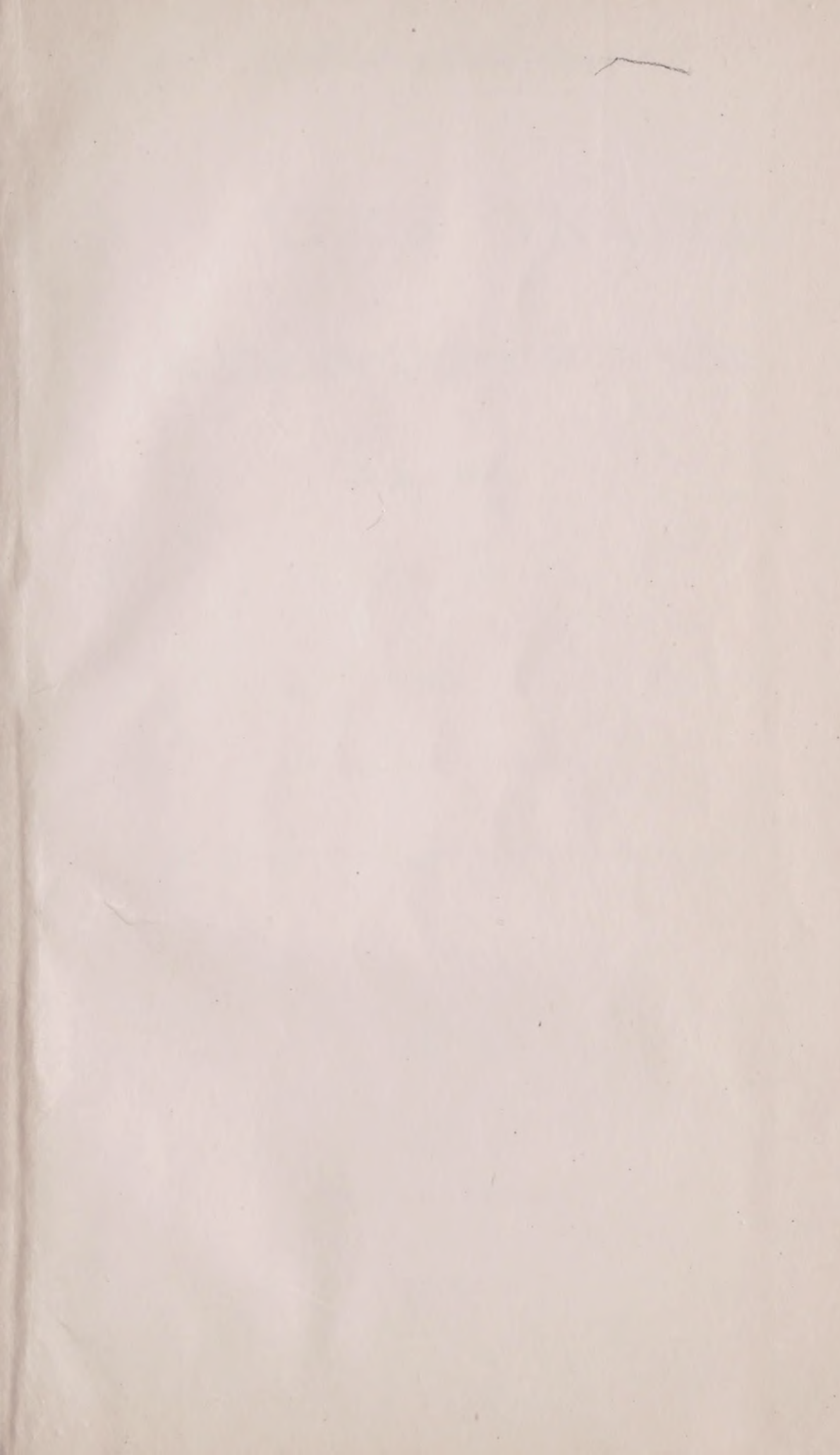
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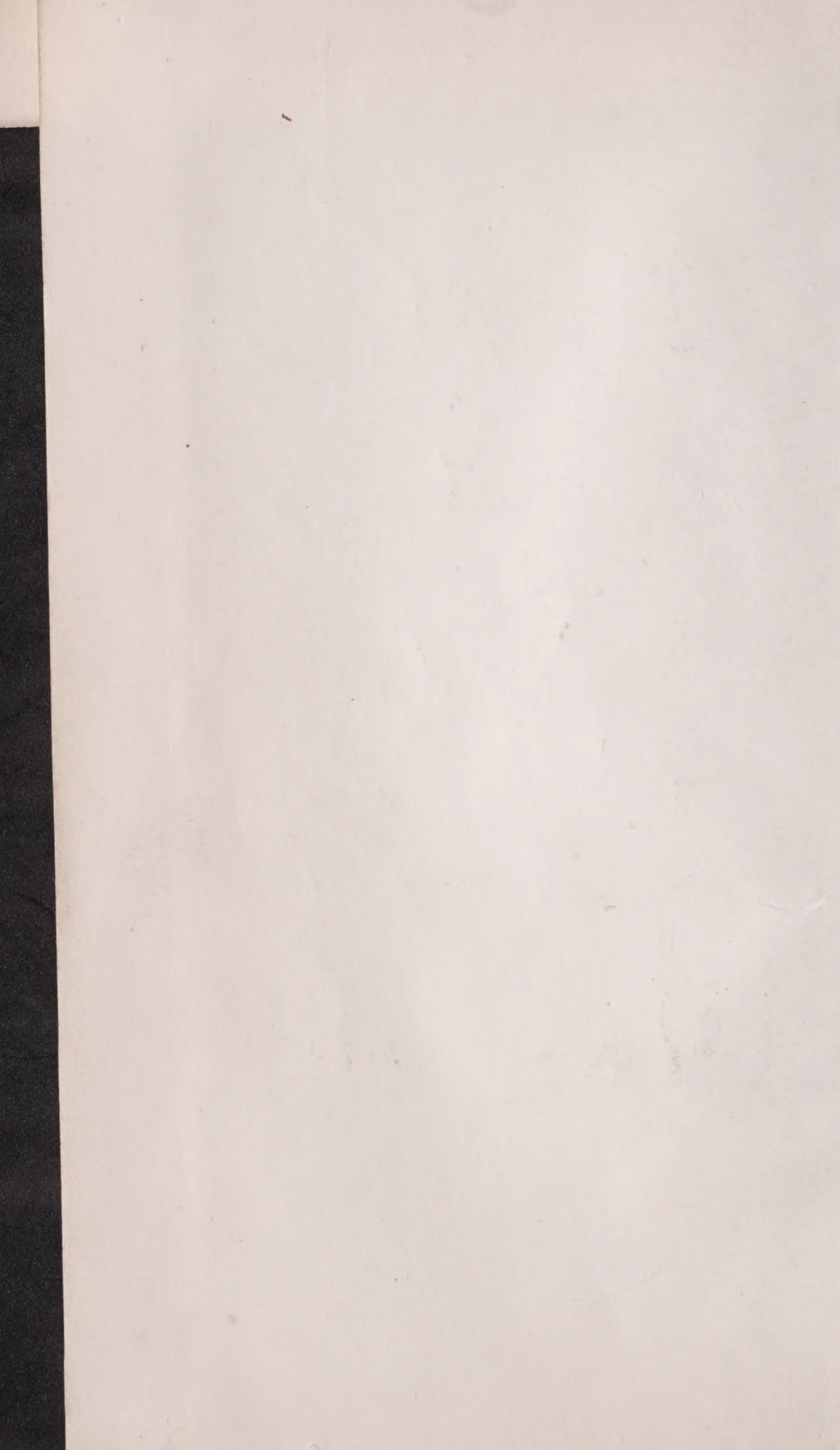
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ONLY COMPLETE AMERICAN EDITION.

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

INTO SEVERAL REMOTE NATIONS OF THE WORLD,

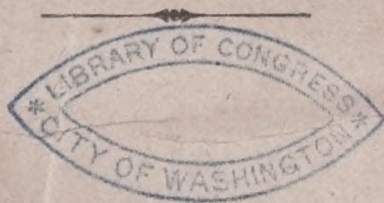
In Four Parts.

BY DEAN ^{Jonathan} SWIFT,

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY REV. JOHN MITFORD;

AND COPIOUS NOTES, BY W. C. TAYLOR, LL.D.



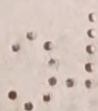
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THE

WORKS OF DEAN SWIFT.



PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS, which are here presented in an accessible and attractive form, have been justly styled "a great moral romance." A grave and serious purpose is hidden under the disguise of the wildest invention and the most grotesque humor. The original design of the Voyage to Lilliput was to satirize the enemies of the author. The story is but the shaft and feathering of the arrow, which give force and direction to its barbed head. The notes appended to this edition point out, as far as possible after so many years, the immediate objects satirized. Had it, however, only a personal aim, the book would have perished with the persons and events to which it owed its origin; but as a keen and biting satire upon follies and vices of perennial growth, it has acquired a lasting reputation. Lilliput is not the only nation where high offices, lofty stations, and great employments are gained by creeping and crawling before the governing power, whether prince or populace. The petty game of court intrigue and state policy is none the less contemptible because the players are six feet instead of as many inches high. The

▼

seven-inch monarch of Lilliput had as good a right to the passive obedience of his subjects as have his seven-feet brethren. Viewed from the height of a few hundred feet, we are no larger than the Lilliputians. From the distance of the moon—but a step into infinite space—kingdoms would seem less than ant-hills. The distinction between *High-heels* and *Low-heels* is quite as intelligible and important as many in respect to which party lines have been most strictly drawn. Our theological world has been convulsed by controversies—*Filioque*, *Homoousian*, and *Homoiousian*, to say nothing of others of more recent date—not a whit more essential than that of the *Big-endians* and the *Little-endians*, and which have been none the less fiercely waged because neither party was able to comprehend his own opinion or that of his adversary. But while follies and vices become ridiculous and odious when enlarged to Brobdingnagian or contracted to Lilliputian dimensions, no noble deed, lofty purpose, or wise aim loses anything of its worth or dignity. These arise not from our acts—which are all, great as well as small, infinitely little—but from the spirit in which they are performed.

The Life of Swift presents a practical satire no less keen than his writings, and its perusal will furnish food for the considerate, and reproof to the wayward and reckless.

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LIFE OF SWIFT.

BY THE REVEREND JOHN MITFORD.

JONATHAN SWIFT, the Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was descended from the younger branch of the family of the Swifts in Yorkshire. His grandfather was the Rev. Thomas Swift, vicar of Goodrich, in Herefordshire. He died in the year 1658, leaving ten sons and three or four daughters, with no other fortune than a very small patrimonial estate, almost destroyed by the fines and sequestrations which he drew on himself for his activity in the cause of Charles I. Jonathan Swift, the father of our author, was the sixth or seven son of the Vicar of Goodrich ; in consequence of his elder brother, Godwin, being appointed attorney-general of the palatinate of Tipperary, under the Duke of Ormond, after the Restoration, Jonathan, who was also bred to the law, followed him into Ireland. There he married Abigail Ericke, of Leicestershire, a lady of ancient family, but no fortune. In Ireland he had some employments and agencies, and was appointed steward to the Society of the King's Inn, Dublin, in 1665.

After having held his appointment two years, he died, leaving an infant daughter, and his widow then pregnant, in so destitute a situation as to be unable to defray the expenses of her husband's funeral. Her brother-in-law, Godwin, was her chief support. On the 30th of November, 1667, being St. Andrew's Day, she was delivered of a son; and the house where the celebrated author, whose life we are now writing, was born is still pointed out. It is No. 7, of Hoey's Court, Dublin; the appearance of its antiquity seems not to oppose the correctness of the tradition; it is small, and was, not many years since, occupied by Mrs. Jackson, a dealer in earthenware.

The nurse to whom the care of the infant was entrusted was a native of Whitehaven; being summoned to attend the request of a dying relation, she clandestinely, but out of pure affection, carried away the child with her. His mother was unwilling to risk the insecurity of a second voyage, and permitted it to remain with its faithful and affectionate protector for three years, when she returned to Ireland, and proved that she had been as careful of its education as she was attached to its person.

At the age of six, Swift was sent to the school of Kilkenny, and at fourteen admitted into the University of Dublin. He was entirely dependent for his support upon the allowance made to him by his uncle Godwin; this was hardly more than would cover the necessities of life, for his uncle had a numerous family of his own, and had much injured his fortune by imprudent speculations. Swift was either not aware of his uncle's circumstances, or if he were, the smallness of his beneficence was not enough to awaken his gratitude: for

when once questioned about it, rather roughly, at a visitation dinner, he answered the insulting question in a loud and bitter accent,—“Yes, he gave me the education of a dog!”

While he was at the university, he appears to have disliked and neglected the line of study which was at that time cultivated; and a proficiency in which was necessary for the attainment of his degree. Instead of mastering the intricacies of the old Treatises on Logic, written by those great men, Smeglesius, Kechermanus, and Burgesdicius, he passed his time more agreeably in reading poetry and history, and he told his tutor that he could reason without the assistance of the artificial rules of logic. There is a proof, however, that though he turned aside from the path of academic study, his voluntary reading was extensive and various, for he had drawn up a rough sketch of the Tale of a Tub, which he communicated to his friend, Mr. Waryng. The first time he sat for his degree it was refused him; and so pertinaciously did he adhere to his determination not to attend to the necessary line of studies, that when he went up a second time he succeeded only through the interest of his friends. It was inserted in the College Register that he attained his degree *Speciali gratia*. In going through the forms of disputation, he told Dr. Sheridan that he was utterly unacquainted even with the logical terms, and answered the arguments of his opponents in his own manner and words. His biographer adds, that there was one circumstance in the account which Swift gave him that surprised him with regard to his memory; for he told him the several questions on which he disputed, and repeated all the arguments used by his opponents in their

syllogistic forms. He remained in the college nearly three years after this, not through choice, but necessity. Little known or regarded by scholars, he was esteemed a block-head; and as the lowness of his circumstances would not allow him to keep company of an equal rank with himself, or on an equal footing, he scorned to take up with those of a lower class, or to be obliged to those of a higher. He lived therefore much alone, and his time was employed in pursuing his course of reading in history and poetry, then very unfashionable studies for an academic, or in gloomy meditations on his own unhappy circumstances.

Soon after this time, his uncle Godwin was seized with a lethargy, which rendered him incapable of business, and the embarrassed state of his affairs became known. Another uncle, William, for a short period, supplied to our author the place of his former benefactor; and though he had not the means of enlarging the extent of his bounty, he bestowed it with so much more willingness and grace, as to receive that gratitude from Swift which he deserved. But Swift's chief hopes now rested on his cousin Willoughby, the eldest son of his uncle Godwin, a merchant at Lisbon; nor was he disappointed in his expectations; a supply arrived at the very time when it was needed, and the incidents attending it shall be related in the words of his biographer: "Swift, without a penny in his purse, was despondingly looking out of his chamber window to gape away the time, and happened to cast his eye on a sea-faring man, who seemed to be making inquiries after somebody's chambers; the thought immediately came into his head that this might be some master of a

vessel, who was the bearer of a present to him from his cousin at Lisbon. He saw him enter the building with pleasing expectation, and soon after heard a rap at his door, which he eagerly opening, was accosted by the sailor with, 'Is your name Jonathan Swift?' 'Yes.' 'Why then, I have something for you from Master Willoughby Swift of Lisbon.' He then drew out a large leather bag, and poured out the contents, which were silver coins, upon the table. Swift, enraptured at the sight, in the first transports of his heart, pushed over a large number of them, without reckoning, to the sailor, as a reward for his trouble; but the honest tar declined taking any, saying, That he would do more than that for good Master Willoughby. This was the first time that Swift's disposition was tried with regard to the management of money; and he said that the reflections of his constant suffering through the want of it, made him husband it so well, that he was never afterward without something in his purse."

Soon after this, on the breaking out of the war in Ireland, Swift left that country to visit his mother at Leicester, and to consult with her on his future plans and prospects of life. He was now in his one-and-twentieth year, not qualified by particular study for any profession, except, perhaps, for the church; his academical reputation was not advantageous to him; the recluseness of his life had rendered him little known; and the spleen and severity of his temper had not attracted many friends.

Without any letter of recommendation to introduce him in England, and without any acquaintance who could assist him, Swift left Chester on foot to visit a mother, who was

herself dependent on the precarious bounty of her friends. With her he remained some months, and requested her advice as to the course which he should pursue. Most fortunately she recollected that the lady of Sir William Temple was her relation, that there had been an intimacy between the families, that Thomas Swift had been chaplain to Sir William Temple, and had been provided for by him in the church. She therefore recommended her son to go to Sir William Temple, and communicate to him his depressed situation and gloomy prospects. When he arrived at Shene, the residence of the retired statesman, his story was listened to with compassionate attention; he was cheerfully received into his house, and treated with kindness and generosity. Although he was not admitted to much personal familiarity with his illustrious kinsman, yet he found in his house what was of invaluable advantage, sound advice with regard to the prosecution of his studies, and a secure and elegant retirement, where he could pursue them undisturbed.

For eight years he followed a system of study, according to his own account, of not less than eight hours a day. Among other books, he is known to have read Cyprian and Iranæus. The first interruption of this studious course of life, was occasioned by an illness produced by a surfeit of fruit, which brought on a coldness of stomach and giddiness of head that he never afterwards could shake off. At one time, his physician advised that he should try the effects of his native air, and he left Moor Park (to which Sir William had removed) for Ireland; but finding himself worse, he returned, and when his illness abated, resumed with fresh vigour his interrupted studies.

About this time, Sir William Temple began to discover some of the valuable parts of his relative's character; and Swift says, that he then grew in confidence with him. He was present at the confidential interviews between King William and the statesman; and when the latter was confined to his room with the gout, the duty of attending on the king devolved on Swift. It is said, that the king offered him a troop of horse; and he showed him how to cut asparagus after the Dutch fashion. It is probable that he obtained some promise of preferment in the church; for, in a letter dated 1692, he says to his uncle, "I am not to take orders till the king gives me a prebend."

In 1692, he went to Oxford to take his Master's degree, to which he was admitted on the 5th of July, 1692. From Oxford he paid a visit to his mother, and then returned to Moor Park. He now was anxious to establish himself independently in the world, and he looked for the preferment which had been promised. But suspicions grew in his mind that Sir William Temple was not so forward in assisting him as he could wish, and feared that Swift would leave him when he was provided for. Perhaps his society was become not only convenient and agreeable, but even necessary to one far advanced in life, declining in health and afflicted with painful disorders. Besides, Temple was very anxious to have an accurate and correct copy of all his writings; and Swift's assistance in this respect was invaluable. The work, however, which the aged and experienced statesman was to bequeath to posterity, advanced but slowly, and Swift's impatience could ill bear any longer delay. After remaining two

years longer at Moor Park, he determined to leave his patron and take his chance in the world. Sir William received the communication with marks of displeasure; but offered him a small place, worth about a hundred pounds a year, then vacant in Ireland: Swift replied, "That since he had now an opportunity of living without being *driven into the church for a maintenance*, he was resolved to go to Ireland to take holy orders." This answer conveyed his belief in the insincerity, and his feelings of the indelicacy of Sir William's proposal; and they parted with resentment at least on one side, and displeasure on both.

He procured a slight recommendation to Lord Capel, then lord deputy of Ireland, and was ordained in September, 1694, being then almost twenty-seven years old. Soon after, Lord Capel gave him the prebend of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor, worth about a hundred pounds a year. To this place Swift repaired to discharge the duties of his office, and taste, for the first time, the sweets of independence. But there were many serious drawbacks on his happiness; he was placed in a very obscure situation and in a half civilized country; he enjoyed none of the charms of society, or the advantages of enlightened conversation: his mind looked back with regret to the delights which Moor Park had so long afforded; he was also reluctant that his talents and his ambition should be buried in the seclusion of a distant and deserted place; and having received a kind letter from Sir William himself, which proved that all animosities had subsided, and which contained an invitation to his house, Swift resigned his living, and hastened to England, after a little more than

a year's absence. His residence with Sir William Temple was now voluntary ; and they appear to have lived in mutual confidence and esteem. Swift maintained his same diligent pursuit of study, and performed the duties of chaplain in the family.

Swift took on himself the office of preceptor to a niece of Sir W. Temple, who resided in the house ; and, at the same time, Miss Esther Johnson, so well known as Stella, shared the benefits of the instructor. Miss Johnson was daughter of a gentleman of good family in Nottingham, by profession a merchant in London ; she was about fourteen years of age, very beautiful, possessing fine talents, and it is not to be wondered at, that Swift took peculiar pleasure in cultivating and improving her mind, though he probably little thought how closely their fortunes and their fame were hereafter to be united. He wrote his digressions in the Tale of a Tub and the Battle of the Books at this time.

Sir W. Temple died in the year 1699, leaving Swift a legacy and the advantage to be derived from publishing his posthumous writings. He also obtained from King William a promise of a stall at Canterbury or Westminster for him. How much Swift esteemed him, may be seen in a part of the register which he kept of Sir William's illness, where he concludes :—" He died at one o'clock in the morning, and with him all that was great and good among men." From another memorandum copied by Thomas Steele, Esq. jun. we have this further character of his patron :—" He was a person of the greatest wisdom, justice, liberality, politeness, elegance, of his age and nation. The truest lover of his country, and one that deserves more from it, by his eminent public services.

than any man before or since, besides his great deserving of the commonwealth of having been universally esteemed the most accomplished writer of his time."

On the death of Sir W. Temple, Swift removed to London, and his first care was to discharge the trust reposed on him of publishing a full and correct edition of his patron's works. This he dedicated to the king. After waiting some time for the fulfilment of the promise made for his advancement in the church, he addressed a memorial to the monarch; but it is said that Swift had reason to believe that the Earl of Romney, who promised to second it with all his interest, in fact, suppressed it, and never mentioned it at all. After waiting some time in vain, he relinquished his hopes of preferment and accepted the offer made to him by Lord Berkeley, of attending him to Ireland as his private secretary and chaplain. When they arrived at Dublin, he found himself supplanted in his former office by a person of the name of Bush, who had ingratiated himself into his lordship's favour. Swift's indignation, ever ready to awaken at the first appearance of insult, took flame, and he lampooned without mercy the governor and his new made secretary, in a copy of verses that were widely circulated. The rich deanery of Derry now fell vacant and Swift applied for it. Lord Berkeley said it had been promised to Bush for another, but that perhaps the affair might be arranged. Swift had an interview with the secretary, who frankly told him that he was to have a thousand pounds for it. Swift knew this could not be done without Lord Berkeley's participation, and made no other answer than "God confound you both for a couple of rascals." He then

left the castle, resolving to see him no more. Lord Berkeley was, however, unwilling to exasperate a person who could so successfully revenge himself, and he therefore presented him to the rectory of Agher, and the vicarage of Laracor and Rath-beggin, in the diocese of Meath. They were not worth, in value, one third of the deanery, but Swift had experienced sufficiently the uncertainty of courtly promises, to trust much to the chances of the future, he, therefore, accepted them, and kept on friendly terms with his lordship, one inducement to which was, the respect he felt for the Countess, whose virtues and excellencies he has praised in his introduction to the Project for the Advancement of Religion.

It was at this time that his talent in light and humorous poetry was first displayed, which he wrote for the amusement of his lordship's family; but when the government of Ireland devolved on another person, Swift retired to his living at Laracor, conscientiously discharging the duties of his office. It appears, from some letters which have found their way into the world, that he had been enamoured of a young lady of the name of Jane Waryng, sister of his chamber-fellow at college. As she had a slender fortune of about £100 a year and Swift at that time was in possession of no certain income, her good sense and prudence made her resolve to delay their union till they were in possession of an income competent to their support. A letter from Swift dated April, 1696, is published, which is written in the usual style of a complaining lover, and which accuses his Varina of formality and coldness and too great an observance of the customs and opinions of the world. He tells her, "that he has resolved to die as he

has lived—all hers ; and that matrimony is a just and honorable *action*, which would furnish *health* to her." After he had obtained his preferment, which amounted to about £400 a year, Varina having her only objection removed, naturally looked forward to the fulfilment of their engagement ; but the fascination of a more attractive person had begun to show its influence over our faithless lover's heart. A second letter appears, four years after the one mentioned (May, 1700), in which there is a very remarkable alteration of style and address. It is written in the terms of one anxious to escape from a connection which he regrets ever to have formed. Every trifling excuse is found, and every imaginable impediment introduced, and there are demands made by him, and expressions used, which put their union on a footing so humiliating to a lady, that certainly no female could for a moment have entertained the idea of acquiescing in such a proposal. Though I have had no experience in love myself, and am ignorant of the sensibilities and feelings of the female heart, yet I should think no lady could expect to be questioned by her lover concerning the state of her health and the cleanliness of her person ; but the true cause of Swift's declining affections were now to be more clearly seen.

Stella, for so Esther Johnson must hereafter be called, was now eighteen ; after the death of Sir W. Temple she resided with a lady of the name of Dingley, who was related to the family of Temple. Stella's fortune consisted of one thousand pounds, bequeathed by Sir William, and Mrs. Dingley's annuity was exceedingly small. When Swift, therefore, proposed to both the ladies to come over to Ireland to reside, where

the interest of the money was greater, and the price of living much less, it is no wonder that the invitation was received with pleasure. Soon after the arrival they took a lodging at Trim, a town situated near Laracor, and their presence and conversation reconciled him to his obscure retirement. Of the softer and romantic qualities of the heart, which open the avenues of love, Swift was entirely devoid; his mind was bent on higher objects, and interested in busier and more ambitious scenes. I have no doubt that he regarded the blooming and beautiful Stella with the most sincere friendship, and with something more than a brotherly fondness and affection; but women turn everything into love. If Stella did not mistake the nature of Swift's attachment, she did not consider the other passions of his mind which might oppose or weaken it; of most men she would probably have judged rightly; but unfortunately she had to speculate on the motives of a person eminently singular in his temper and thoughts, inclined to move out of the road which leads to general happiness, and to find one more congenial to his own disposition. There is a kind of attachment which it is not always easy to distinguish from love, and which is yet distinct from it; either Stella's want of sagacity could not even separate these, or her hopes and affections forced her to overlook the distinction. An event took place a year or two after this time, which we might conjecture would one way or another have brought Swift's feelings to a decision, and cleared up all the past ambiguity of his conduct. Stella received an offer of marriage from the Rev. Dr. Tisdall, a friend and companion of Swift's. Swift was, of course, consulted by her, and, we may

suppose, with no common anxiety as to the result of his opinion. That he could not wish the offer to be accepted must be obvious; but the answer which he returned to Dr. Tisdall certainly left the field open to his solicitations; he says, "In answer, I will upon my honour and conscience, tell you the naked truth. If my fortunes and *humour* served me to think of that state, I should certainly, of all persons on earth, make your choice, because I never saw that person whose conversation I entirely valued but hers. *This was the utmost I gave way to.* And, secondly, I must assure you sincerely that this regard of mine never once entered into my head to be any impediment to you." The proposal was, however, declined by Stella, doubtless from her great attachment to Swift, and her hopes of seeing her happiness confirmed by his marriage with her. "Swift," says Scott, "maintained a long acquaintance with Tisdall without ever liking him, and he certainly felt rivalry in the case of Stella."

In 1701, Swift went to London, leaving his parish and his charming companions, in the hopes, it is said, of discovering some opportunity of distinguishing himself, and advancing his fortune. He found the public mind in a ferment, occasioned by the impeachment of the Earls of Portland and Oxford, Lord Somers and Lord Halifax, by the House of Commons, on account of their share in the Partition Treaty; on this occasion he wrote his first political tract—"A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions of Athens and Rome." The name of the author was for some time unknown; but on his return to Ireland, in the heat of conversation, Swift confessed to Bishop Sheridan that he wrote it, while the Bishop

insisted that it was written by Burnet : this is said to be the only instance that Swift was ever known to have owned directly any piece of his that came in secrecy before the public.

Early in the ensuing spring, King William died, and Swift, on his next visit to London, found Queen Anne upon the throne. The whigs had the whole administration of affairs within their hands, and they looked on Swift as a staunch adherent of their party ; but he considered some of their measures dangerous and unconstitutional, and declined all the overtures which they anxiously made him. The principles on which he professed to act were too moderate to please any party, especially in a season of political excitement ; more especially he differed with them in what he considered their indifference to the interests of the church. He described himself at this period, in his Verses to Ardelia (Mrs. Finch), as “ a whig, and one who wears a gown,” though a high church whig, as Scott observes, was a political character of which all parties refused to recognise the existence. He withdrew, therefore, again to his living, performed fully and exactly all the parochial duties of it. Once a year he visited his mother in Leicestershire, and occasionally mingled in the society of London. During those years he wrote little except his Meditations on a Broomstick, and the Critical Essay on the Faculties of the Mind. The former was a sportive imitation of the style in which Boyle’s Meditations are written ; and Swift gravely read it to Lady Berkeley as a genuine effusion of that pious and learned author.

Swift, at this time, was not acquainted with many authors of eminence. Congreve he had met at Sir William Temple’s

and a ludicrous account is given of his first interview with Addison and Arbuthnot, at Button's Coffee House. But he was soon to be brought into more general notice. In 1704, the celebrated Tale of a Tub was published. Though it appeared without a name, yet it had been often shown in manuscript at Sir W. Temple's to his relatives and friends. Swift, with singular indifference to fame, had kept this piece by him for eight years after it had been completely finished. Of this book Dr. Johnson says, "Charity may be persuaded to think that it might be written by a man of peculiar character without ill intention; but it is certainly of dangerous example." When this wild work first roused the attention of the public, Sacheverell meeting Smalridge, tried to flatter him, seeming to think him the author; but Smalridge answered with indignation,—“Not all that you and I have in the world, nor all that we shall ever have, should hire me to write the Tale of a Tub.” There can be no doubt but that the offence given by this work proved to be the real bar which prevented Swift's ever attaining an eminent situation in the church. The author hath reason (said Atterbury) to conceal himself, because of the profane strokes in that piece, which would do his reputation and interest in the world more harm than his wit can do him good. After the publication of this work, Swift wrote nothing of consequence for three or four years. He formed, however, a very close connexion with Addison, which ripened into a sincere and lasting friendship. Swift considered his conversation to be the most agreeable he ever met with; and Addison appears to have thought most highly of the genius of Swift.

In 1708, he published several pieces on religious and political subjects. "The Argument against Abolishing Christianity" was allowed to be an admirable specimen of very successful irony. He wrote also the Sentiments of a Church of England Man, which was the cause of the first coolness between him and his original friends of the whig party. He had stated to Lord Somers that although he felt himself inclined to be a whig in politics, he was, as to clerical rights, a high churchman, and did not conceive how it was possible that one who wore the habit of a clergyman should not be so. But all attempts at reconciling high church politics to whig principles soon appeared to be desperate; and the interests of his order prevailed with Swift over his favor for the political principles of Somers and Godolphin. His letter on "The Sacramental Test" completed the alienation. He wrote also, The Sentiments of a Church of England Man (which was the cause of the first coolness between him and his original friends of the whig party) and the Ridicule of Astrology, under the name of Bickerstaff, and the Defence of the Sacramental Test. With regard to the last subject, Dr. Johnson remarks, "that the reasonableness of a test is not hard to be proved, but perhaps it must be allowed that the proper test has not been chosen." The attention paid to the papers under the name of Bickerstaff induced Steele, when he projected the Tatler, to assume an appellation that had already gained possession of the reader's notice. The object of the Church of England Man was one that has invariably failed as often as it has been tried, which was to moderate the violence of two contending parties, and to propose an intermediate ground on

which they could meet; he wished to drop the terms of high and low church, which were only calculated to keep up animosity; "and to set down a just political and religious creed, so far as related to a connection between Church and State, as every honest subject of the Church of England must at once assent to."

The Whigs, who had narrowly escaped being turned out of office by the intrigues of Mr. Harley, and who had hitherto looked on Swift as an uncertain friend, who did not enter fully into their opinions, now coveted him, when they saw the great and various talents which he had displayed; they were willing to make him their champion whom they dreaded as their enemy; but Swift's opinions were firm, and proof against all solicitation: they therefore wished to remove him by giving him some honorable situation abroad; a secretaryship to the embassy at Vienna was mentioned; and what to Swift would have been a far more desirable appointment, a scheme was on foot to make him Bishop of Virginia, with a general authority over all the clergy in the American colonies.

In the year following, he wrote "A Project for the Advancement of Religion," addressed to Lady Berkeley. "To this Project," says Johnson, "which is formed with just purity of intention, and displayed with sprightliness and elegance, it can only be objected, that like many projects, if not generally impracticable, it is yet evidently hopeless, as it supposes more zeal, concord, and perseverance, than a view of mankind gives reason for expecting." Sheridan considers that the treatise had a political purpose, and that under the

appearance of disinterestedness inculcating the principles of religion and morality, it aimed at the destruction of the power of the Whigs.

After the publication of this piece, Swift went to Ireland, where he remained till the following year, when the fall of the Whig ministry under Godolphin and Somers took place, and Mr. Harley and St. John came into power. He passed much of his time with Addison, secretary to the Earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant. He was also requested by the bishops of Ireland to take on him the charge of soliciting a remission of the first fruits and tenths to the clergy of that kingdom. He took the office with reluctance, but his regard for the interest of the church outweighed all other considerations, and he set out for England as soon as his credentials were ready. It may be observed, in Swift's correspondence with Archbishop King on this subject, how anxious he was that his friend Harley should have the merit of the grant to the clergy of Ireland; while the archbishop, not very partial to the new administration, was disposed to consider it as an act of the queen's personal bounty.

On his arrival in London, in September, 1700, Swift found that there was war declared between the two parties. There was no room for moderating measures; and he was obliged, according to his own principles of action, to choose the side on which he would act. The Whigs would gladly have made sacrifices to secure him, but the good fortune of the Tories prevailed; for Swift's political opinions (as Scott observes) turned chiefly upon zeal for the interest of his order. "I should be terribly vexed," he says in his Journal, "to see

things come round again; it would ruin the church and the clergy for ever." He was also enraged at his cool reception from Lord Godolphin, which he revenged by his lampoon of Sid Hamet, read at Harley's, October 15, 1710, but not suspected to be Swift's. It had immense success.

Swift's office of soliciting the remission of the first fruits led to interviews with Harley, and the minister did not lose the favourable opportunity. Swift, it appears, had long been, in his own mind, of the Tory side, and he only waited a convenient juncture to declare himself. He was represented "as one extremely ill-used by the last ministry." Harley's condescension flattered his pride; his obliging behaviour secured his friendship; accordingly, after he had inquired into their plans, and the measures which they meant to pursue, and found them agreeable to his own sentiments, he entered into their interest with his whole heart. He says in his Journal, November 29, 1710, "The present ministry have a difficult task, and want me. According to the best judgment I have, they are pursuing the true interest of the public, and, therefore, I am glad to contribute all that lies in my power." His account of his interview with Lord Radnor, proves how zealous a partisan he was. The writers on both sides had already taken the field. Addison, Burnet, Steele, Congreve, and Rowe, were the leaders of the Whigs. For the Tories appeared Bolingbroke, Friend, Atterbury, and Prior. The latter had begun a paper called "The Examiner," to which they all contributed; but as soon as Swift appeared, they gladly resigned the controversial flail into his powerful hands, who had returned from Ireland, stung with resentment

at the neglect which he had experienced from Lord Wharton, and burning with revenge upon the whole Whig party. Addison soon detected the new auxiliary, and retired from the field, though Dr. Johnson considers that his papers were superior to his antagonist's. Swift's first paper was published on the 2nd of November, 1710, No. 13, which was little more than a month after his introduction to Harley, and he continued them till June 7, 1711, when he closed it with No. 45, leaving it to be carried on by other hands. He was then on terms of entire intimacy with the whole ministry; this he best preserved by a line of conduct, showing his independence and self-respect. Harley sent him a bank-note of fifty pounds. Swift had the good sense and prudence to return it, and was not reconciled to the minister till he had let him know that he expected to be treated on a footing of entire equality. One must feel a little surprise that Harley did not better understand the character of the person to whom this trifling remuneration was offered.

The ministry had endeavoured to act upon a temporizing system. It stood, as Swift says, "like an isthmus between the Whigs on one side, and the violent Tories on the other. They are able seamen, but the tempest is too great, the ship too rotten, and the crew all against them." Lord Somers was seen more than once in the queen's closet, and the Duchess of Somerset, an intriguing and insinuating woman, who had succeeded the Duchess of Marlborough, held the key. Again, he says, "we are plagued with an October club, that is, a set of above one hundred parliament men of the county, who drink October beer at home, and meet every

evening at a tavern near the parliament, to consult on affairs, and drive things to extremes against the Whigs. The minority is for gentle measures, and the other Tories for more violent." But there were also divisions in the camp. Harley was reserved and mysterious in his conduct, and procrastinating in his measures, and St. John, though a person of great spirit and energy, wasted much important time in his pleasures and habits of dissipation. Swift expostulated, sometimes seriously, sometimes jocosely, with both. The Whig leaders he knew to be active and zealous, leaving nothing undone, while his friends were remiss in their operations, and not united in their counsels. Two points he thought of the utmost importance; the one was, to put an end to the cabals of the October club, which threatened the most dangerous consequences to the ministry; the other was, to make a peace, without which he considered the ministry could not stand. The first point was accomplished without difficulty. He published a little pamphlet, called "Some Advice to the Members of the October Club." They were satisfied with the reasonings, and dropped their meetings. The affair of the peace was of greater difficulty, for the disposition of the nation was for war, and the ministry dared not even hint a desire to put an end to it. Swift, however, undertook the task, and drew up, in consequence, his famous political tract, called, "The Conduct of the Allies." It is said, that between November and January eleven thousand were sold: the object of it, as is well known, was to prove that the war was maintained at a prodigious cost to us, solely through the avarice and ambition of Marlborough, and for the advantage of the

allies. Certain, it seems, that the ministry were indebted to Swift for their immediate preservation from a destruction which appeared inevitable, and for the solid establishment of their future power. He found time amid political engagements to publish a proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English Tongue, in a letter to the Earl of Oxford. The plan which he wished to institute for effecting this purpose, seems, if not absurd, at least exceedingly defective; as Swift possessed no knowledge of those ancient languages, the parents of our own, which could alone safely guide him in his projected inquiries. The purity of a language will never be preserved by the laws of an academy, who themselves participate in the cause of its change, and who neither have power to effect its renewal, or delay its decline.

This year, 1712, he published his reflections on the Barrier Treaty, showing how little regard had been shown in that negotiation to the interest of England, and how much had been claimed by the Dutch. This was followed by "Remarks on the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction to the third volume of the History of the Reformation." Sheridan thinks highly of the humour and argument of these two pamphlets: he says, "This distinguishes Swift's political tracts from all others—that these were written for a day, his for perpetuity. They borrowed their chief merit from circumstances and times, he from the immensity of his genius. Their chief value arose from fashion, his from weight." Certainly Swift brought greater vigour of thought, richness of humour, variety of

fancy, and pungency of satire to bear upon political disquisitions than any writer of his day.

In 1713 the printer, Barker, was prosecuted by the House of Lords for "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," a pamphlet written in answer to a tract of Sir Richard Steele's, called "The Crisis." All the Scotch Lords then in London went to the Queen and complained of the affront put on them and their nation by the author; upon which a proclamation was published by her majesty, offering a reward of three hundred pounds to discover him. Lord Oxford sent Swift a letter, written in a counterfeit hand, inclosing a hundred pound bill, to meet the expenses of the case.

The ministry were not unmindful of the great benefits which he had conferred upon them; but they found many serious obstacles in their way, when they attempted to reward him in the only manner which he deserved, by a suitable and dignified preferment in the church. The Duchess of Somerset returned Swift's hatred with interest; when he was recommended to a bishopric (the See of Hereford) she prevailed on Sharpe, the Archbishop of York, to oppose it, who advised the Queen, "That her majesty should be sure that the man whom she was going to make a Bishop, was a Christian." When asked for reasons to support his insinuations, he could only suppose that Swift was the author of the Tale of a Tub. But the Duchess had stronger arguments and better influence. She went to the Queen, with tears in her eyes, and throwing herself on her knees, presented that bitter copy of verses which Swift had written against her, called the Windsor

Prophecy. The Queen shared in the resentment of her favourite, and the Bishopric was bestowed on another.

After many difficulties and much procrastination, arising from the Queen's dislike to bestow any preferment in England on Swift, and from Lord Oxford's unwillingness to part with him, in April 1713 the Deanery of St. Patrick was obtained for him, worth about seven hundred a year, and which he professed to consider only as an honourable exile. Swift was anxious for preferment in England, but it could not be obtained; and in June he set out, in no very good humour, for Ireland, to be installed. He had intended to remain some time, but after having passed through the necessary forms, he was recalled to England, to prevent by his efforts a rupture between his friends, Lord Oxford and Bolingbroke. He also applied himself to the finishing the History of the Peace of Utrecht, which he put into the hands of Lord Oxford and Bolingbroke for publication. Scarcely had he a second time returned to his deanery, than he was urgently sent for on the same hopeless errand of reconciling persons between whom there seemed to exist no cordiality or mutual esteem. This effort was as fruitless as the former, and Swift, after the most unavailing conference, returned to the house of his friend, Mr. Geary, at Letcomb; there he composed his Pamphlet, called "Some free Thoughts upon the present State of Affairs;" in which the system of Tory government recommended is as daring, dangerous, and unconstitutional, as was ever advanced by a party-writer. He charges the ministers as the chief causes of the reigning disorders, and lays the greatest load of blame upon the man he loved best in the

world, Lord Oxford. It is said, that he believed both Lord Oxford and Bolingbroke were now more engaged in advancing their schemes of personal ambition, than anxious to discharge their duties to the public; and his object was to alarm their fears with the probability of their being deserted, both by their party and their Queen. The death of the latter, however, put a stop to the publication of his work. Swift's prospects of advancement or ambition, if he ever entertained any, were suddenly and permanently closed; and having nothing more to do in England, he returned to his deanery, where he resided for many years. It may be proper in this place to mention, that during the time when Swift possessed influence over the ministry, he exercised it with most disinterested zeal to promote the advancement of men of genius and talent, who were directly opposed to him in politics. In his journal he says "I have taken more pains to recommend the Whig wits to the favour and mercy of the ministers, than any other people. Steele I have kept in his place. Congreve I have got to be used kindly, and secured. Rowe I have recommended, and got a promise of a place. Philips I should certainly have provided for, if he had not run party mad, and made me withdraw my recommendations. I set Addison so right at first, that he might have been employed, and have permanently secured him the place he has, yet I am worse used by that faction than any man." He says, in a letter to Lady Betty Germaine, "When I had credit for some years at Court, I provided for above fifty people in both kingdoms, of which not one was a relation." He procured the rectory of St. Andrew, Holborn, for Sacheverell, though he held him in

no estimation, from a principle of justice, as he had rendered assistance to the ministry, who had appeared to neglect him.

On Swift's return to Ireland, he found the minds of persons in the highest ferment, and the Whigs triumphant. The stories fabricated in England that the late ministry designed to bring in the Pretender, were believed, and Tory and Jacobite were used as synonymous terms. Swift became the chief object on whom party vengeance vented its rage. He was insulted and even pelted by the populace in the streets; and the higher classes endeavoured to earn the favour of the government by treating him with insult: he drew up a petition to the House of Lords against the brutal and dangerous conduct of Lord Blaney. In such a situation of affairs, the most prudent and wise part was chosen by him, of retiring to his deanery, arranging his domestic affairs, and discharging the duties of his situation. In a letter, dated Jan. 10, 1721, he tells Pope, "In a few weeks after the loss of that excellent princess, I came to my station here, where I have continued ever since in the greatest privacy and utter ignorance of those events which are most commonly talked of in the world. I neither know the names nor the number of the family which now reigneth, further than the prayer book informeth me. I cannot tell who is chancellor, who are secretaries, nor with what nations we are at peace or war. And this manner of life was not taken up out of any sort of affectation, but merely to avoid giving offence, and for fear of provoking party zeal." And in a letter to Gay he gives the following account of himself. "I would describe to you my

way of living, if any method could be called so in this country. I choose my companions among those of the least consequence and most compliance. I read the most trifling books I can find, and when I write, it is upon the most trifling subjects; but riding, sleeping, walking, take up eighteen out of the twenty-four hours. I procrastinate more than I did twenty years ago, and have several things to finish which I put off to twenty years hence." In this manner he passed seven years of his life after his return to Ireland. He cultivated the acquaintance of a few persons whose society was agreeable to him. He enjoyed the conversation and company of Stella; and in his friend Dr. Sheridan he found one who could return alike his friendship and his wit. He maintained a correspondence with his former friends in England, with Lord Bolingbroke, Harley, Addison, Pope, Prior and Arbuthnot: with the Duchess of Ormond and Lady Bolingbroke. When Oxford was committed to the Tower, Swift wrote pressing to him to be permitted to attend him there. His letter begins thus: "My Lord, it may look like an idle or officious thing in me to give your lordship any interruption under your present circumstances. Yet I could never forgive myself, if, after having been treated for several years with the greatest kindness and distinction by a person of your lordship's virtue, I should omit making you at this time the humblest offers of my poor services and attendance. It is the first time I ever solicited you on my own behalf, and if I am refused, it will be the first request you ever refused me."

Lord Oxford immediately on his release wrote him a letter breathing the warmest affection; and Bolingbroke helped to

solace the hours of his exile, by recalling to Swift the happy hours they had formerly enjoyed together.

Two tracts were drawn up by him about this time: the one, written in 1714, *Memoirs relating to that change which happened in the Queen's ministry in the year 1710*. The other, *An Inquiry into the behaviour of the Queen's last ministry, with relation to their quarrels among themselves, and the design charged upon them of altering the succession of the crown*. The main object of these works was to exonerate the ministry from the charge so confidently brought against them of a design to bring in the Pretender. They were drawn up without any view to publication, but were intended as calm appeals to posterity in favour of his injured friends.

In the year 1710, when the ferment of political madness seemed to have subsided, he published his first tract relative to Ireland, entitled, *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures*; the object was to give a stimulus to the trade of Ireland, which was in a state of depression, by persuading the people to wear their own manufactures, instead of those from England, and by showing them that a great part of their poverty and distress was owing to their own folly. But those who had an interest in the English trade took the alarm; the proposal was deemed seditious, the printer was imprisoned, and the undue severity and suspicion of the Government secured the popularity of the author.

In the year 1724, a circumstance took place, which gave Swift an influence in Ireland, that no one probably has ever equally possessed. A person of the name of William Wood, of Wolverhampton, in Staffordshire, a great proprietor and

renter of iron works in England, obtained a patent, empowering him to coin one hundred and eighty thousand pounds worth of half-pence and farthings for the Kingdom of Ireland, in which, at that time, there was a very inconvenient scarcity of copper coin, so that it was possible to run in debt on the credit of a piece of money; for a tradesman could not refuse to supply a man who had silver in his hand, and the purchaser would not leave his money without change. Sheridan says, that no one in Ireland was consulted on the subject, nor was any previous notice given to the Lord Lieutenant. The old copper coin was gathered up, it is said, by Wood's agents, and the new treasures were ready to be poured into the channels of trade, but it was boldly asserted that the coin was debased to an enormous degree; and Swift wrote his *Drapier's Letters* for the purpose of showing the folly of receiving a coinage not worth perhaps a third of its nominal value. Swift did not deny that Ireland wanted half-pence, and silver, and gold, but he alleges "the fraudulent obtaining and executing of the patent, the baseness of the metal, and the prodigious sum to be coined, which might be increased by stealth from foreign importations, and his own counterfeits, as well as those at home; whereby we most infallibly lose all our little gold and silver, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and discouraged trade." He urged that the patent was passed without the least reference to either and without mention of any security given by Wood, to receive his own half-pence on demand, both which were contrary to all former proceedings in like cases. "For my own part (he adds) who am but one man of obscure condition, I do solemnly declare, in the

presence of Almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing death, rather than submit to receive this accursed coin, or any other that shall be liable to the same objections, until they shall be forced upon me by a law of my own country; and if that shall ever happen, I will transport myself into some foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people."

The facts of the case appear to be these. The emoluments arising from the disposal of the patent were given by Lord Sunderland to the Duchess of Kendal, who sold it to Wood. The Duke of Bolton, then lord-lieutenant, had neither courage nor inclination to bring this embarrassing project forward; but the Duke of Grafton, who succeeded him, promised to support it. Walpole, on succeeding Sunderland, saw the difficulties, but yielded. When the Duke of Grafton arrived in Ireland, he found a general dislike to the measure. Lord Middleton, Chancellor of Ireland, opposed it strongly: a personal quarrel had arisen between him and the Duke of Grafton, which was fermented by the acts of Carteret, who was intriguing for Walpole's removal. The boasting and threatening conduct of Wood was indiscreet; and the misconduct of Government much greater. The patent passed without the lord-lieutenant or the privy-council being consulted. Walpole suffered the duke to depart without sufficient instructions how he was to act. In the mean time the dissensions spread, and factious intrigues increased the embarrassments. The Duke of Grafton was recalled, and Lord Carteret succeeded him; but as he had, from desire to supplant Walpole, promoted the opposition to the introduction of the coin, the part he had to play

became doubly difficult his hopes lay in winning over Lord Middleton ; in this he failed, and the patent was surrendered. It appears, on a candid consideration of the subject, that the project would have been advantageous ; but the real subject of dispute was not so much the coinage itself, as that Wood's patent being forced upon the people of Ireland was a death blow to the independence of the kingdom. This was the real foundation of Swift's opposition, though the nature of the controversy made it necessary that he should veil it under specific objections to Wood's scheme, rather than engage in a dangerous discussion upon the abstract question of the independence of the kingdom of Ireland. When he did venture on this argument in his fourth letter, the arm of government was immediately uplifted to strike.

On Lord Carteret's arrival in Ireland, which took place long before the usual time, a proclamation was published, offering the reward of three hundred pounds for the discovery of the author of the fourth Drapier's Letter. Harding, the printer, was imprisoned, and a bill of indictment ordered to be prepared against him. Swift wrote a short paper, called, "Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury," copies of which were distributed to every person of the Jury before the bill, and had such an effect, that it was unanimously thrown out. The Lord Chief Justice Whitshed discharged the jury in a rage ; but the next that was summoned drew up a strong presentment supporting the opinions advanced in the Drapier's Letters, in language decisive and strong. This was followed by several others, in various counties ; the affair was looked on as desperate, the patent withdrawn, and the coinage sup-

pressed. Never was greater exultation displayed upon any occasion than appeared in the whole nation on the defeat of this project. The Drapier was hailed by universal voice as the saviour of his country. His name resounded through every quarter of the island; his picture was set up in every street, and bumpers to his health were poured down every throat.

In the course of these writings, Swift took the opportunity of laying open his political principles, declaring his most zealous attachment to the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and his abhorrence of the Pretender; by which means he removed the prejudice against him of being a Jacobite, and secured the favour of the people. During the publication of the Letters, Swift took great pains to conceal himself from being known as the author. The only persons in the secret were Robert Blakely, his butler, whom he employed as his amanuensis, and Dr. Sheridan. As Robert was a most accurate transcriber, the copies were always delivered by him to the doctor, in order to their being corrected and fitted for the press; by whom they were conveyed to the printer in such a way as to prevent the possibility of discovery. It happened that Blakely, the very evening of the day on which the proclamation was issued, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for discovering the author of the Drapier's fourth letter, had staid out later than usual without his master's leave. The dean ordered the door to be locked at the accustomed hour, and shut him out. The next morning the poor fellow appeared before him with marks of great contrition, when Swift would listen to none of his excuses, but abused

him outrageously, bade him strip off his livery, and quit his house that moment: "What, you villain," said he, "is it because I am in your power, you dare take these liberties? Get out of my house, you scoundrel, and receive the reward of your treachery." Mrs. Johnson, who was at the deanery, and greatly alarmed at this scene, immediately dispatched a messenger to Dr. Sheridan to come and try to make up matters. Upon his arrival, he found Robert walking about the hall in great agitation, and shedding abundance of tears. Inquiring into the cause of this, he was told that his master had just discharged him. The doctor bade him to be of good cheer, for he would undertake to pacify the dean, and that he should be still continued in his place. "That is not what vexes me," replied Robert; "to be sure, I should be very sorry to lose so good a master; but what grieves me to the soul is, that my master should have so bad an opinion of me as to suppose me capable of betraying him for any reward whatever." When this was told to the dean, struck with the generosity of such a sentiment, in one of his low sphere, he immediately pardoned him, and restored him to his favour; he also took the first opportunity of rewarding him for his fidelity. The place of Verger to the cathedral becoming vacant, Swift called Robert to him, and asked him if he had any clothes of his own that were not a livery, to which the other replying in the affirmative, he desired him to strip off his livery and put on those clothes. The poor fellow begged to know what crime he had committed, that he should be discharged. "Well, do as I ordered you," said Swift. When he returned in his new dress, the dean called the other

servants into the room, and told them they were no longer to consider him as their fellow-servant Robert, but as Mr. Blakely, vergier of St. Patrick's cathedral, which place he had bestowed on him as a reward of his faithful services. Robert, however, continued to officiate, at his own request, in his own situation, without receiving any wages.

Another anecdote, connected with the subject of the Drapier's Letters, I will give from Dr. Sheridan's Life, as briefly as I can. The day after the proclamation there was a levee at the castle; the Lord Lieutenant was going the round of the circle, when Swift entered, and pushing his way through the crowd, with great indignation, and with the voice of a Stentor, cried out, "So, my Lord Lieutenant, this is a glorious exploit that you performed yesterday, in issuing a proclamation against a poor shopkeeper, whose only crime is an honest endeavour to save his country from ruin. You have given a noble specimen of what this devoted nation is to hope for from your government. I suppose you expect a statue of copper will be erected to you for this service done to Wood." For some time a silence ensued, for the whole assembly was struck mute with wonder, when Lord Carteret, who had listened with great composure to the whole speech, replied in a line of Virgil :

*Res duæ, et regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri.*

Every one was struck with the beauty of the quotation, and the levee broke up in good humour; some extolling the magnanimity of Swift to the skies, and all delighted with the ingenuity of the Lord Lieutenant's answer.

Leaving Swift now in the height of his popularity, we must go back to relate some circumstances of a less favourable character, that had a great influence on his private life, and which have unfortunately, continued to throw a cloud over his fame. It will be recollected, that Miss Esther Johnson continued to reside near Swift, in Ireland; that she formed part of his daily society at the deanery; that there seemed the most unreserved communication between them, though guarded by a strict propriety of conduct. Swift never saw her, but in the company of Mrs. Dingley, or of some third person; yet Stella, while she submitted to this singular arrangement, was not satisfied with it; nor can it be wondered at, that she expected to be united in a closer tie than that of a mere friend, and that she languished under the extraordinary procrastination of her hopes.

During his residence in England, Swift lived among the higher circles of society, and was admired for the brilliancy of his wit, the extent of his knowledge, and the richness and variety of his conversational talents. He was admitted into the company of some of the most distinguished ladies of the time; Lady Betty Germaine, Mrs. Barton, the Countess of Winchelsea, the Duchess of Ormond, and Lady Masham, ranked him among their friends. Among the families in London, where he was most intimate, was that of Mrs. Vanhomrigh, a widow lady of fortune and respectability, who had two sons and two daughters; the elder was Esther, better known by the poetical appellation of Venessa; of her personal charms we are left in some uncertainty; Lord Orrery says she was not handsome, but she was lively and graceful,

and fond of books. Swift eagerly offered to direct her in her choice of studies; this led to still further familiarity with the family, and the acquaintance with the fascinating Esther at length gave pain and uneasiness to Stella. Swift was fully conscious of the dangerous ground on which he stood; for in his Journal to Stella, Miss Vanhomrigh is only casually mentioned twice, at the time that he was in habits of the most frequent communication with her. In the meanwhile, in the bosom of his fascinating pupil, esteem and gratitude ripened into love; she was unacquainted with the peculiar situation in which Swift stood as related to another, and she was ignorant of the claims, perhaps even of the name of Stella. In a manner suitable to the warmth and openness of her temper, she avowed to Swift the state of her affections. "We cannot doubt," (says Scott) that he actually felt the shame, disappointment, guilt, and surprise," expressed in his celebrated poem, though he had not the courage to take the open and manly course of acknowledging his engagements with Stella, or *other impediments* which prevented him from accepting the hand and fortune of her rival. Perhaps he was conscious that such an explanation had been too long delayed to be now stated, without affording grounds for the heavy charges of having flattered Miss Vanhomrigh into hopes which, from the nature of his own situation, could not be gratified. This remorseful consciousness too, he might feel when looking back on his conduct, though, until then he had blindly consulted his own gratification in seeking the pleasure of Vanessa's society, without being aware of the difficulties in which they were both becoming gradually entangled. With

out making, therefore, this painful but just confession, he answered the avowal of Vanessa's passion at first in raillery, and afterwards by an offer of devoted and everlasting friendship, founded on the basis of virtuous esteem. Vanessa seems neither to have been contented nor silenced by the result of her declaration, but to the very close of her life persisted in endeavouring, by entreaties and arguments, to extort a more lively return to her passion than this cold proffer was calculated to afford. It is difficult to ascertain when this eclairsissement took place, but it seems to have preceded Swift's departure for Ireland to take possession of his Deanery, though it must certainly have been made after obtaining that preferment.

The effect of Swift's increasing intimacy with Vanessa may be plainly traced in the altered language of the Journal. It becomes colder and more indifferent, speaks less of the happiness of a life devoted to Stella, and exhibits all the marks of a declining affection. The fears of love are soon excited, and it is difficult to escape its penetration. Stella soon was aware that there was a rival in his affections, and rumours brought to Ireland increased her alarm. Her letters are not preserved, but it appears from the Journal that they intimated displeasure and jealousy which Swift endeavoured to appease. There are two passages, as Scott observes, worthy of notice, as illustrating of the situation of the parties and of Swift's intentions. The first occurs when he obtains the deanery of St. Patrick's. "If it be worth £400 per year," he says, "the overplus shall be divided—besides usual"—an imperfect phrase, which, however, implies, that his relation to Stella was

to continue on its former footing, and that she was only to share the advantage of his promotion by an increase of her separate income. This hint was probably designed to bar any expectations of a proposal of marriage. Another ominous sentence in the Journal, is in the following intimation: "His (Mr. Vanhomrigh's) eldest daughter is come of age, and going to Ireland to look after her fortune, and get it into her own hands." This plan, which she afterwards accomplished, boded no good to the unfortunate Stella.

Upon Swift's return to Ireland, he was placed in a situation of much embarrassment, arising from his thoughtless encouragement of Vanessa's feelings, while Stella possessed an undoubted claim over the affections of his heart. It is difficult to find that peculiar word of censure which should apply with exactness to Swift's conduct in this unfortunate affair, because he acted on principles so extremely different from those which govern the generality of mankind. In ordinary cases his conduct would be deemed dishonourable in disappointing the just expectations, and sporting with the feelings of two amiable and virtuous women. But Swift, as he never designed marriage himself, certainly never gave, except by what they might infer from attention of behaviour, and perhaps tenderness of language, any ground upon which their reasonable hopes might be founded. *They* appear to have erred, in not having more accurately understood his character, and his designs; while *he* was far more decidedly wrong in endeavouring to divert the warm and natural passions of the female heart, into the cold and selfish channels in which his own reposed; *his* object was to gain them as

friends; *theirs* was to possess him as a lover and a husband. That Swift was greatly to blame, no doubt can be entertained, and the errors of his conduct in this affair brought on a great part of the future misery of his life. Of all *criminal* intentions he was, in this instance, as in the whole conduct of his life, totally guiltless; but he knew that he passed beyond the grounds of honourable and upright conduct; he allowed the new fascinations of Miss Vanhomrigh's society to eclipse the familiar power of pleasing which Stella had long possessed; and when he all but suppressed the name of Vanessa while he poured out upon other subjects the most unreserved communication in his Journal to Stella, he at once stamps the seal on the unfaithfulness and duplicity of his own conduct.

On her mother's death, Vanessa and her sister, who were left joint executrixes, retired to Ireland to look after the property which their father had left them near Celbridge. Their arrival in Dublin excited the jealousy of Stella, and the apprehensions of Swift; an intimacy like theirs which had passed over without harm in England, might now have injured the reputation of both. The Dean expostulated in vain with her on her imprudence, and she in return accused him of cruelty and neglect. Her letters of love and complaint are full of the warmest sentiments and the most enamoured language. Swift saw the gulf he had so insensibly and incautiously been approaching; yet it was too late to retreat; all that was left was to temporize, and trust to time and chance to remedy or alleviate the perils which were beyond the power of prudence to avert.

The correspondence, now for the first time given entire,

will afford a satisfactory elucidation of the subject. It commences on the part of Swift in a vein of light, jocular pleasantry. Vanessa writes at once from the heart. Swift parries this for some time in his odd bantering vein; till as Vanessa's impatience increases he subsides into a guarded, half apologizing, half upbraiding strain, evidently intended to prevent any warmer expostulations, and to stop any nearer approach. When *the* letter at length came, containing the most innocent but the most passionate avowal of love, and opening the recesses of her ingenuous, affectionate, and devoted heart; then the long fabricated artifices of Swift were baffled, his plan of *retaining* her love without *returning* it, was at once defeated; he could no longer plead his ignorance of her feelings; and the remainder of *his* correspondence consists of paltry excuses, cruel evasions and palliating falsehoods. The situation into which his selfishness had brought him, must have been one of agony and remorse; and his poor Vanessa sank into her early grave, the broken hearted victim of an attachment most singularly unfortunate.

In the meanwhile the health of his early and constant friend, his affectionate Stella, was rapidly declining. Jealousy, neither unreasonable nor dishonourable, was secretly preying upon her. She had sacrificed for Swift all but her virtue and her honour,—her youth had faded away amidst hopes and wishes that were unfulfilled: and she had the misfortune to be conscious that even her reputation was clouded, while her conduct was irreproachable. Swift felt deeply and bitterly the melancholy and fatal results of his capricious and inconsiderate conduct. He employed the Bishop of Clogher

his tutor and early friend, to enquire the cause of Stella's melancholy ; and he received the very answer which he could have anticipated : " Her sensibility to his late indifference and to the discredit which her character had sustained from the dubious and mysterious connection between them." To convince her of the constancy of his affection, and to remove her beyond the reach of calumny, there was but one remedy. To this Swift replied, that he had formed two resolutions with regard to matrimony. One, that he would not marry till possessed of a competent fortune—the other, that the event should take place at a time of life which gave him a reasonable prospect to see his children settled in the world. The independence he proposed he had not yet achieved, and on the other hand he was past that time of life after which he had determined never to marry. It may be observed, that Swift undoubtedly had a right to lay down these or any other rules for the regulation of his own conduct, and the supposed safe-guard of his happiness ; but these very rules obliged him to act with great circumspection and caution in his intercourse with females ; and not to keep his maxims of prudence in reserve while he was engaging the affections of the artless and the inexperienced by a tenderness and gallantry that were the forerunners, according to their ideas, of more intimate and lasting connections. Swift, however, made one concession, the least that could be granted, and of itself an imperfect remedy of the evils that he had caused.

To these terms, so inferior to what she had a right to expect, Stella subscribed ; yet something was gained by the unwilling and almost degrading concession ; her former inti

macy with Swift, though free from guilt, was, in the opinion of society, improper and unusual; on this point her conscience was now at rest; and she had also disarmed the superior attractions of her rival of their fatal power. She was married in the garden of the deanery, by the Bishop of Clogher, in the year 1716.

Immediately after the ceremony, Swift's state of mind was very unhappy. Delany says, that about the time his union took place, he observed Swift to be exceeding gloomy and agitated, so much so that he went to Archbishop King to mention his apprehensions; on entering the library, Swift rushed out with a countenance of distraction, and passed him without speaking. He found the Archbishop in tears, and upon asking the reason, he said, "You have just met the most unhappy man upon earth, but on the subject of his wretchedness you must never ask a question." Delany's inference from these words was, that Swift, after his union, had discovered too near a consanguinity between Stella and himself, to admit of their being united in matrimony; and that in fact, both of them were the illegitimate children of Sir W. Temple. This, however, seems to be a most gratuitous assumption, resting on no reasonable grounds whatever.

Swift's intercourse with Stella and Mrs. Dingley continued to be as guarded and cautious as before. To Stella it brought the same inconveniencies; her acquaintance with ladies was formal and ceremonious, and her only intimacies were the male persons of Swift's acquaintance; a lady now alive, who was the friend of Mrs. Delany, says, "that Stella went with Mrs. Dingley to Dr. Delany's Villa on Wednesdays, where his

men companions dined, before he was married to my friend. She (Mrs. Delany) once saw her by accident, and was struck with the beauty of her countenance, and particularly with her fine dark eyes. She was very pale, and looked pensive, but not melancholy, and her hair as black as a raven."

After his marriage Swift seems to have redoubled his anxiety to moderate the passion of Vanessa, and even to direct it into another channel. He introduced to her Dean Winter, as a candidate for her hand, but she rejected the proposal in peremptory terms. She was also addressed, equally without success, by Dr. Price, afterwards Archbishop of Cashell. At length, in the year 1717, she retired from Dublin to her property near Celbridge, to nurse her hapless passion in seclusion from the world. Swift, with great anxiety and tenderness of expression, endeavoured to warn her against a plan so little likely to be successful, and exhorted her to seek general society, to divert her mind in every way she could, and even to leave Ireland for other scenes. Until the year 1720, he never visited her at Celbridge; but in that year, and down to the time of her death, he went repeatedly there to see her. A correspondent of Sir Walter Scott's has given some minute particulars attending Vanessa's habits of life, and Swift's visits. "Marley Abbey (he says) near Celbridge, where Miss Vanhomrigh resided, is built much in the form of a real cloister, especially in its external appearance. An aged man (upwards of 90 by his own account) showed the grounds to my correspondent. He was the son of Mrs. Vanhomrigh's gardener, and used to work with his father in the garden when a boy. He remembered the unfortunate Vanessa well, and his

account of her corresponded with the usual description of her person, especially as to her *embonpoint*. He said she went seldom abroad, and saw little company; her constant amusement was reading, or walking in the garden. Yet, according to this authority, her society was courted by several families in the neighbourhood, who visited her, notwithstanding her seldom returning that attention, and he added, that her manners interested every one who knew her. But she avoided company, and was always melancholy, save when Swift was there, and then she seemed happy. The garden was to an uncommon degree crowded with laurels. The old man said, that when Miss Vanhomrigh expected the Dean, she always planted with her own hand a laurel or two against his arrival. He showed her favorite seat, still called Vanessa's bower; three or four trees and some laurels indicate the spot. They had formerly, according to the old man's information, been trained into a close arbour. There were two seats and a rude table within the bower, the opening of which commanded a view of the Liffey, which had a romantic effect; and there was a small cascade that murmured at some distance. In this sequestered spot, according to the gardener's account, the Dean and Vanessa used often to sit with books and writing materials on the table before them.

Vanessa, besides indulging her melancholy and hopeless passion, had another sorrow in her solitude, that of nursing the declining health of her younger sister, who at length died about 1720. Her affections seemed now concentrated with double energy in her love; while Swift, with his usual circumspection, became more reserved than he had been in his

visits; at length Miss Vanhomrigh, irritated by a long endurance of ill-requited love, was determined to discover its causes, and either to remove or realize the suspicions she had formed. Her thoughts naturally turned to the intimacy between Swift and Mrs. Johnson; in a letter written in 1713, she says, "If you are very happy, it is ill natured of you not to tell me so, *except* 'tis what is inconsistent with mine." She accordingly ventured on the decisive step of writing to Mrs. Johnson, requesting to know the nature of her connection with the Dean. Stella informed her, in her reply, of the marriage; and, full of resentment against Swift, for having given to another female the right to put a question which seemed to involve a claim as strong as her own, she retired to the house of Mr. Ford, near Dublin. Swift, in a paroxysm of fury, rode to Marley Abbey; his countenance, as he entered the room, struck Vanessa with terror. He flung a letter on the table, and instantly mounting his horse, returned to Dublin. When Vanessa opened the packet, she only found her own letter to Stella; this was the death blow to her hopes and to her life; she languished only a few weeks, when she sank under the stern and selfish cruelty of a man on whom she had vainly lavished all the innocent and all the warmest affections of her life; and who suffered her to pine away in hopeless affliction, because he dared not avow to her the duplicity of his conduct, and his incapability of accepting the heart she offered. She died in the 37th year of her age, and revoked a will made in favour of Swift, settling her fortune upon Mr. Marshall, (afterwards one of the Judges of the Common Pleas,) and Dr. Berkeley, the Bishop of Cloyne.

The correspondence between Swift and this unfortunate lady has been, for the first time, published in the edition by Scott, from the originals in the possession of Mr. Berwick. The sum of the evidence (says the biographer) which they afford, seems to amount this—that while residing in England for years, and at a distance from Stella, Swift incautiously engaged in a correspondence with Miss Vanhomrigh, which probably, at first, meant little more than mere gallantry, since the mother, brother, and sister, seemed all to have been confidants of their intimacy. After his going to Ireland his letters assume a graver cast, and consist rather of advice, caution, and rebuke, than expressions of tenderness. Yet neither his own heart, nor the nature of Vanessa's violent attachment, permit him to suppress strong, though occasional and rare indications of the high regard in which he held her, although honour, friendship, and esteem, had united his fate with that of another. It would, perhaps, have been better had their amours never have been public; as that has, however, happened, it is the biographer's duty to throw such light upon them as Mr. Berwick's friendship has enabled him to do, in order that Swift's conduct, weak and blamable as it must be held in this instance, may at least not suffer hereafter from being seen under false or imperfect lights." Upon the death of Miss Vanhomrigh, Swift retreated to the south of Ireland, where he remained for two months in utter solitude, a prey, no doubt, to the most self-accusing remorse. On his return to Dublin, he received the forgiveness of Stella, and thus this unfortunate portion of his history is closed.

When Wood's patent was withdrawn, Swift returned to Finlen, a house of Dr. Sheridan's, where he passed some months in finishing and preparing Gulliver's Travels for the press. Early in 1726, he set out for England, after an absence from that country of nearly twelve years: and was welcomed with all demonstrations of joy by his old friends. He also met with a favourable reception at Leicester House. The Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, hearing of his arrival, sent to desire to see him. Of this he gives the following account in his letter to Lady B. Germaine, 1732. "It is six years last spring since I first went to visit my friends in England after the queen's death. Her present majesty heard of my arrival, and sent at least nine times to command my attendance before I would obey her, for several reasons, not hard to guess: and among others, because I had heard her character from those who knew her well. At last I went, and she received me very graciously." During Swift's stay in England his time was passed between Twickenham and Dawley, with his friends Pope or Bolingbroke. Pope then published his volume of Miscellanies, consisting of some of his own works and Arbuthnot's, but principally of Swift's. The sale was very large, and Pope received the entire profits, which amounted to a hundred and fifty pounds. During these transactions he received a very melancholy account from Ireland of the State of Mrs. Johnson's health; his old complaints of giddiness and deafness increased upon him, and he stole away from a society which he could no longer delight or enjoy, and retreated into private lodgings. When sufficiently recovered, he retired to Ireland, and had the delight

of finding the health of Mrs. Johnson much improved. During his visit to London, Swift met with a favourable reception not only at Leicester House, but at St. James's. He dined with Sir R. Walpole at Chelsea; and afterwards, through Lord Peterborough's intervention, had an interview with that minister, in which the grievances of Ireland formed the subject of the Dean's complaint. The enemies and calumniators of Swift propagated a story that he had offered his pen to Walpole, upon the promise of preferment in England; but Swift has destroyed all the credit which the falsehood might have had, by giving to Lord Peterborough a faithful account of the conversation.

Swift set out for Ireland in August, and in the November following *Gulliver's Travels* made their public appearance, after having been privately seen and admired by Swift's friends in England.

The plan of this entertaining and delightful satire varies, as Scott observes, in its different parts. The voyage to Lilliput refers chiefly to the court and politics of England. Walpole is plainly intimated under the character of Mr. Premier *Flimnap*; the factions of high and low heels express the Tories and the Whigs; the Small-endians and Big-endians the religious divisions of Papist and Protestant; and when the heir apparent was described as wearing one heel high and one low, the Prince of Wales, who at that time divided his favour between the two leading political parties of England, laughed heartily at the comparison. The scandal which Gulliver gave to the Empress by his mode of extinguishing the flames in the Royal Palace, seems to intimate the author's

own disgrace with Queen Ann, founded on the indecorum of the Tale of a Tub, which was remembered against him as a crime, while the service which it had rendered the cause of the high church was forgotten.

In the Voyage to Brobdignag the satire is of a more general character; nor is it easy to trace any particular reference to the political events or statesmen of the time. It seems intended to show in the most forcible manner the vanity of our desires and the insignificance of our pursuits, by exhibiting the opinions formed of them by beings of superior power and more philosophical thought, and more cool and less passionate temperaments. Some passages are supposed to be an intended affront on the maids of honour, for whom Swift entertained no predilection; and there is one which those interesting ladies never could have forgiven.

The Voyage to Laputa was disliked by Arbuthnot, who probably considered it to be a satire on the Royal Society; many of the allusions also are said to be levelled at the singularities of Sir Isaac Newton; but the main attack of the fable is certainly directed against the false and chimerical pretenders to science, and the professors of natural and mathematical magic. In the department of the political projectors, some glances of his Tory feelings appear; and in the melancholy account of the Struldbrugs, we are reminded of the author's indifference to life, and the melancholy state to which his own was prolonged.

The Voyage to the land of the Houyhnhnms is the one that has been received with the least approbation of the public, and, perhaps, exhibits the smallest talent and judgment in the

author. Of all the creations of his fancy it is the most improbable; and it is filled with such a fierce indignation against the frailties and vices to which our nature is so prone; it betrays such a bitter misanthropy; it indulges in such a fiendish mockery of the degraded species, and holds up such hideous representations of the loathsome depravity of our sins, while it renders its satire more effective by drawing through it the richest vein of ridicule and the most pointed wit; that persons of delicate and refined taste have been hurt by its grossness, and those of more severe and religious feelings have marked it with that moral disapprobation, which rejects a work so wide in its temper and feeling from the spirit of Christianity. It must certainly be allowed that the picture, in all its nauseating details and its frightful impurities, is overcharged; that the colors are not sufficiently subdued; and that the representation of beings so thoroughly brutalized and degraded, by exciting disgust and horror, destroys the effect which it was intended to produce. "Where is the sense of a general satire," says Warburton, "if the whole species be degenerated; and where is the justice of it, if it be not?" Voltaire, who was in England at the time when *Gulliver's Travels* appeared, spread their fame among his correspondents in France; and the Abbé Desfontaines undertook a translation, which succeeded extremely with the French public. His continuation, called "*Le Nouveau Gulliver*," I have never met with; but another, published as the *third* volume of the Travels in 1727, was stolen from a French work called "*L'Histoire des Sévérambes*," and which has been ascribed to Monsieur Alletz and others; it is a production far

inferior to Swift's in wit and invention ; but being suppressed in France and other Catholic countries, and consequently of rare occurrence, it offered facilities for the plagiarism of the English author. Arbuthnot also wrote two pamphlets on the subject ; and some verses in the Miscellany, written in a very pleasing vein of humour, were published by Pope.

As Mrs. Johnson's health apparently was restored, Swift found nothing to detain him in Ireland, and set out for London early in March. He was in high favour in Leicester House, but not on terms with Walpole. He had formed a plan of passing a few months in France, for the benefit of his health, but the news of the king's death made him postpone it. It was expected that a change of measures would immediately take place, and that the most flattering prospects would be open to the Dean. Mr. Howard and Lord Bollingbroke strongly urged him to remain on the spot during a season so important to his interests : but a return of his old complaint and the news of Mrs. Johnson's relapse, obliged him to set out for Ireland. On his arrival he found his long-beloved friend in the last stage of decay, without the least hope of recovery. He attended her in this state during four or five months, and in the month of January he was deprived of her who for five and twenty years had been most affectionately attached to him, and whose life indeed had been devoted to his will. Of the dying scene two different stories have been told ; but both of them painful ; and one, that which comes from the authority of Sheridan, we must hope, for the sake of humanity, not to be founded upon truth. Lord Orrery says, that Swift never mentioned her without a sigh. To alleviate

his affliction, he turned his mind again to public affairs; in a variety of publications relating to Ireland, he laid open the causes of her distress and poverty; and pointed out the means by which they might be alleviated: and he also directed his attention to some of the best planned charities that were ever supported from a private purse. He gave very largely in proportion to his fortune. After his settlement at the Deanery, and when he was out of debt, he divided his income into three parts, one he appropriated to his own support and his domestic expenses. The second he laid up as a provision against the accidents of life, and ultimately with a view to a charitable foundation after his death; and the third he disposed of in charities to the poor and distressed. He lent to poor industrious tradesmen small sums of five and ten pounds, to be repaid with interest weekly; and he always demanded good security for the repayment. Sheridan says, that he has been well assured, that many families in Dublin, now living in great credit, owed the foundation of their fortunes to the sums first borrowed from this source. His reputation for wisdom and integrity was so great, that he was consulted by several corporations in matters of trade; and he was not seldom chosen umpire in their decisions: By his integrity, his patriotism, by the superiority of his talents, and his endeavours to serve the public, he obtained a remarkable ascendancy over the people of Ireland, and he was known over the whole kingdom as *the Dean*. In a letter which Lord Carteret wrote to him in 1732, who was the chief governor of Ireland, he says, "I know by experience how much the city of Dublin thinks itself under your protection; and how strictly they obeyed

all orders fulminated from the sovereignty of St. Patrick's,"—and in the postscript to another of March 24, 1736, he says, "When people asked me how I governed Ireland, I say, that I pleased Dr. Swift."

Swift had now relinquished all expectations of further preferment. Walpole was exasperated against him, on account of some severe poems which he had written, and some forged letters in favour of Mr. Barber, bearing the Dean's signature, had excited the displeasure of the queen.

About the year 1736, his memory was greatly impaired, and the general powers of the intellect showed marks of decay. Sheridan says, that "the irascible passions which at all times he found difficult to keep within due bounds, now raged without control, and made him a torment to himself and all about him; an unusual long fit of deafness and giddiness, which lasted almost a year, disqualified him for conversation, and made him lose all relish for society. He could not amuse himself with writing, and a whimsical resolution he had made, of never wearing spectacles, prevented him from reading. Thus, without amusement, without employment, his time passed heavily and gloomily along. The state of his mind is strongly pictured in a letter to Mrs. Whiteway. "I have been (he says) very miserable all night, and to-day extremely deaf and full of pain. I am so stupid and confounded, that I cannot express the mortification I am under both in body and mind. All I can say is, I am not in torture, but I daily and hourly expect it. Pray let me know how your health is and your family. I hardly understand one word I write. I am sure my days will be very few—few and

miserable they must be. I am for those few days." He always entertained apprehensions that he should outlive his understanding. Dr. Young has recorded an instance of this, where he relates, that walking out with Swift and some others about a mile from Dublin, he suddenly missed Mr. Dean, who had staid behind the rest of the company. He turned back in order to know the occasion of it, and found Swift at some distance, gazing intensely at the top of a lofty elm whose head had been blasted. Upon Young's approach he pointed to it, saying, "I shall be like that tree, I shall die first at the top."

Not long after this time, his understanding failed to such a degree, that it was found necessary to have legal guardians appointed to take care of his present estate. This was followed by a fit of lunacy which continued some months, and then he sank into a state of idiocy which lasted to his death. He died October 19, 1745. When the death of the dean, so beloved and admired in Ireland as he was, was announced, the citizens of Dublin gathered from all quarters, and forced their way in crowds into the house, to pay the last tribute of grief to their departed benefactor. Nothing but lamentations were heard round all the quarter where he lived; and happy were they who first got into the chamber where he lay, to procure locks of his hair;

Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto their issue.

So eager, says Sheridan, were numbers to obtain at any price this precious memorial, that in less than an hour his head was stripped of all its silver ornaments, so that not a

hair remained. He was buried in the most private manner according to the directions of his will, in the great aisle of St Patrick's Cathedral; and, by way of monument, a slab of black marble was placed against the wall, on which was engraved the following Latin epitaph, written by himself:—

Hic depositum est corpus
 JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
 Hujus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis
 Decani
 Ubi sæva indignatio
 Ulterius cor lacerare nequit,
 Abi viator
 Et imitare, si poteris,
 Strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicem.
 Obiit anno (1745)
 Mensis (Octobris) die (19)
 Ætatis anno (78).

Swift was in person tall, strong, and well made, of a dark complexion, but with blue eyes, black and bushy eyebrows, nose somewhat aquiline, and features which expressed the boldness and confidence of his mind; he never was known to laugh; and according to Scott, the description of Cassius, in Shakespeare, might be applied to him:

—He reads much;
 He is a great observer, and he looks
 Quite through the deeds of men.—
 Seldom he smiles; and smiles in such a sort
 As if he mock'd himself, and scorn'd his spirit
 That could be mov'd to smile at anything.

His features have been preserved in many busts, prints, and medals. In youth he was reckoned handsome. Pope says

that his eyes were as azure as the heavens, and had an unusual expression of acuteness. In old age his countenance was dignified and expressive. He spoke in public with facility and force; and had he been on the bench of bishops, he would have been of great assistance to the ministry in the House of Lords. "The government of Ireland," says Scott, "dreaded his eloquence as much as his pen." His manners in society were free, lively, and engaging: and even when age and infirmities had impaired his spirits and his temper, his conversation was still valued for the richness of the anecdotes, the acquaintance which it displayed with mankind, the liveliness of his repartees, and shrewdness and satire of the wit. As his memory failed, he was conscious that his stories were too often repeated. He was fond of puns; and Scott says that the application of the line of Virgil to the lady who threw down a fiddle, is, perhaps, the best that ever was made.

In his personal habits he was scrupulously neat. In his latter days he was an early riser, and fond of exercise; though at one period of his life he was said to lie in bed and think of wit for the day. Of his learning, it must be said that it was not that of a professed scholar. It is difficult exactly to say how far his knowledge of ancient literature extended, but in Greek it undoubtedly did not enable him to do more than read the best authors with tolerable facility; and in Latin it did not enter into the critical niceties of the language. Chaucer's flow of wit, and the charming graces and frank joyous vein of pleasantry which animated his poems, found a warm admirer in Swift; he was, it is said, fond of the old romances of chivalry; and had read

Milton with a scholar's attention. The dramatic writers seem not to have attracted his notice ; which we may wonder at, considering the rich stores of pleasantry, and the exhaustless variety of character and manners, he would have discovered in these works : his library did not contain a copy of Shakespeare ; and the works of Wycherly and Rowe were presented by the authors. History was a favourite branch of his study ; and in his latter years he confined himself almost entirely to Clarendon. Scott says, " that Swift loved the country, like most men of genius !" He does not seem to have been much alive to delights of romantic scenery, or the picturesque combinations of landscape ; but he was fond of the advantages which it gave, the opportunities of exercise, and freedom from restraint. The stern independence of his character, and the strangeness and waywardness of his temper, made him appear to superficial observers, full of contradictions. He was a zealous churchman, for no one carried the rights of his order higher than he did, nor could he brook the least slight or disparagement on that subject ; yet he often wrote on matters connected with religion, and religious parties and belief, with a levity bordering on profaneness. Though a friend of liberty, he sided with the Tory administration. Disliking Ireland, and abusing the inhabitants, he yet vindicated her rights, and appeared to feel deeply for her wrongs. Parsimonious in many of his habits of life, to a degree that was sordid and disreputable, he dealt out his charities with a discerning and liberal spirit. He was niggardly, but never avaricious ; and a considerable part of his moderate income was devoted to purposes of benevolence. His avarice, says Johnson, though it

might exclude pleasure, was never suffered to encroach upon his virtue. He was frugal by inclination, but was liberal by principle. And if the purpose to which he destined his little accumulations be remembered, with his distribution of occasional charity, it will perhaps appear that he only liked one mode of expense better than another, and saved merely that he might have something to give. He did not grow rich by injuring his successors, but left both Laracor and the Deanery more valuable than he found them.

In his habits of society he seems never to have lost the singularities of his temper, though he had been educated in the refined society of Sir W. Temple's house, and though he was probably master of all the rules of good-breeding and politeness, yet he affected a rude bluntness of manner and strange independence of character, that was not always understood or allowed. He would call Lord Oxford out of the house merely to form some trifling arrangement, and he would make Lady Burlington sing though she expressed a disinclination; but to his inferiors, this waywardness of disposition often passed into offences that could not be borne, and he trespassed at last too much on the good-nature and attachment of Sheridan. He is said to have much disliked the military, and the profession of the law always afforded a rich harvest of bitter sarcasms and ridicule.

Swift was steady and zealous in his friendships, and those whom he promoted by his interest, or received into his intimacy, were generally persons distinguished for their patriotism or their talents. His prejudices and antipathies were grounded upon reasons of political aversion. The language which he

habitually used when alluding to Lord Somers and Sir Robert Walpole, and others, is well known ; his resentment outlived the faculties and life of the Duke of Marlborough, and attended his funeral with a satirical epitaph. He was unable to forbear throwing out sarcasm against Steele, in the Rhapsody on Poetry, when death ought to have disarmed resentment. In the spleen and severity of his latter days, he classed his friends into grateful, ungrateful, indifferent and doubtful. It is with satisfaction that we see the names of our favorite poets. Pope and Gay, ranked among the few who are honoured with the full esteem of the writer ; and we find Dr. Parnelle and Mr. Berkeley, marked with the letters of disapprobation, we must make some allowance for the suspicion and caprice which accompanied the infirmities of his age. When his different productions were submitted to the corrections of his friends, he received their remarks with candour and attention. At Addison's suggestion, he made considerable alterations in the Poem of Baucis and Philemon. On another occasion he put a pamphlet into the hands of a clergyman, for the benefit of his remarks ; the critic suggested some alterations, but when the work appeared, he became sensible that the passages were altered for the worse, and expressed his regret that the Dean had acquiesced in the alteration. "Sir (said Swift), I considered that the passages were of no great consequence, and I made the alterations you desired without hesitation ; but, had I stood up in its defence, you might have imputed it to the vanity of an author, unwilling to hear of his errors ; and by this ready compliance, I hoped you would at all times hereafter be more free in your

remarks." Sir W. Scott has summed up Swift's character as an author, in such a just and discriminating manner, and has given such value to his praise by its impartiality, that I cannot do better than extract from it what is necessary to enable the reader of Swift's works, to form a correct estimation of his talents.

"As an author, there are three peculiarities remarkable in the character of Swift: the first is, the distinguished attribute of *originality*, and it cannot be refused to him by the most severe critic. Even Johnson has allowed that no author can be found who has borrowed so little, or who has well maintained his claim to be considered original. There was, indeed, nothing written before his time which could serve for his model, and the few hints which he has adopted from other authors, bear no more resemblance to his compositions, than the green flax to the cable which is formed from it.

"The second peculiarity, is his total indifference to literary fame. Swift executed his various and numerous works, as a carpenter forms wedges, mallets, or other implements of his art—not with the purpose of distinguishing himself by the workmanship of the tools themselves, but solely in order to render them fit for accomplishing a certain purpose, beyond which they were of no value in his eyes. He is often anxious about the success of his argument, and jealous of those who debate the principles and the purpose for which he assumes the pen, but he evinces on all occasions an unaffected indifference for the fate of his writings, providing the end of their publication was answered. The careless mode in which

Swift suffered his works to get to the public, his refusing them the credit of his name, and his denouncing all connection with the profits of literature, indicate his disdain of the character of a professional author.

“The third distinguishing mark of Swift’s literary character is, that with the exception of history (for his fugitive attempts in Pindaric and Latin verse are too unimportant to be noticed), he has never attempted a style of composition, in which he has not obtained a distinguished pitch of excellence. We may often think the immediate style of exercising his talents trifling, and sometimes coarse and offensive; but his Anglo-Latin verses, his riddles, his indelicate descriptions and his violent political satires, are in their various departments as excellent as the subjects admitted, and only leave us more occasion to regret that so much talent was not uniformly employed on nobler topics.”

As a poet, Swift’s post is pre-eminent in the sort of poetry which he cultivated. He never attempted any species of composition in which either the sublime or pathetic were required of him. But in every department of poetry where that was necessary, he displayed as the subject chanced to require, either the blasting lightning of satire, or the lambent and meteor-like caricatures of frolicsome humour. His powers of versification are admirably adapted to his favourite subject. Rhyme, which is a handcuff to an inferior poet, he who is master of his art wears as a bracelet. Swift was of the latter description; his lines fall as easily into the best grammatical arrangement, and the most simple and forcible expression, as if he had been writing in prose. The number and coincidence

of rhymes, always correct and natural, though often unexpected, distinguish the current of his poetical composition, which exhibit otherwise no mark of the difficulties with which those graces are obtained. In respect of matter, Swift seldom elevates his tone above a satirical dialogue, a moral lesson, or a poem on manners, but the former are unrivalled in severity, and the latter in ease. Sometimes, however, the intensity of his satire gives to his poetry a character of emphatic violence, which borders upon grandeur. This is peculiarly distinguishable in the Rhapsody on Poetry which, according to Dr. King, he accounted his best satire, and surely with great justice; yet this grandeur is founded, not on sublimity either of conception or expression, but upon the energy of both, and indicates rather ardour of temper, than power of imagination. “*Facit indignatio versus.*” The elevation of tone arises from the strong mood of passion, rather than from poetical fancy. When Dryden told Swift he would never be a poet, he only had reference to the Pindaric Odes, where power of imagination was necessary to success.

In the walk of satire and familiar poetry, wit and knowledge of mankind, joined to facility of expression, are the principal requisites of excellence, and in these Swift shines unrivalled. *Cadenus and Vanessa* may be considered as his *chef d’œuvre* in that class of poems which is not professedly satirical. It is a poem on manners, and, like one of Marmontel’s *Contes Moraux*, traces the progress and circulation of passion, existing between two persons in modern society, contrasted strongly in age, manners, and situation. Yet even here the satirical vein of Swift has predominated. We look in vain for depth

of feeling or tenderness of sentiment, although, had such existed in the poet's mind, the circumstances must have called it forth. The mythological fable, which conveys the compliments paid to Vanessa, is as cold as that addressed to Ardelia or to Miss Floyd. It is in short a kind of poetry, which neither affects sublimity nor pathos; but which, in the graceful facility of the poet, unites with the acute observation of the observer of human nature, to commemorate the singular contest between Cadenus and Vanessa, as an extraordinary chapter in the history of the mind.

The Dean's promptitude in composition was equal to his smoothness and felicity of expression. At Mr. Gore's, in the county of Cavan, he heard the lively air called the Feast of O'Rourke; and obtaining a literal translation of the original Irish song from the author, Mr. Macgowan, executed, with surprising rapidity, the spirited translation which is found in his works. Of the general style of Swift's poems, Johnson has said, "They are often humorous, almost always light, and have the qualities which recommend such compositions, easiness and gayety. They are, for the most part, what their author intended; the diction is correct, the numbers smooth, and the rhymes exact. There seldom occurs a hard-laboured expression, or a redundant epithet; all his verses exemplify his own definition of a good style—'proper words in proper places.'" As an historian Swift is entitled to little notice: his History of England is an abridgment, written evidently in imitation of Paterculus, but without those advantages in point of information which render the Latin author valuable. The Dean abandoned his task, 'because,' as he said with a sort of smile,

to Mr. Deane Swift, 'I have found them all such a pack of rascals, I would have no more to say to them.' His account of the four last years of Queen Anne has little pretensions to the name of history. It is written with the feelings and prejudices of a party writer, and does not deserve to be separated from *The Examiner* and other political tracts of which Swift was the author.

But although his political treatises raised his fame when published, and are still read as excellent models of that species of composition, it is to his *Tale of a Tub*, to the *Battle of the Books*, to his moral romance of *Gulliver*, and to smaller, but not less exquisite satire on Men and Manners, that Swift owes the extent and permanency of his popularity as an English classic of the first rank.

In reference to these works, Card. Polignac used the remarkable expression, '*qu'il avoit l'esprit créateur.*' He possessed, indeed, in the highest perfection, the wonderful power of so embodying and imaging forth the shadows and riches of the mind, that the picture of the imagination is received by the reader as if it were truth. Undoubtedly the same keen and powerful intellect, which could sound all the depths and shallows of active life, had stored his mind with facts drawn from his own acute observation, and thus supplied with materials the creative talent which he possessed. In fiction he possessed, in the most extensive sense, the art of verisimilitude—the power of adopting and sustaining a fictitious character under every peculiarity of place and circumstance. A considerable part of this secret rests upon minuteness of narrative. Small and detached facts formed the fore-

ground of a narrative when told by an eye-witness. They are the subjects which immediately press upon his attention, and have, with respect to him as an individual, an importance which they are far from bearing to the general scene in which he is engaged. But to a distant spectator, all these minute incidents are lost and blended in the general current of events; and it requires the discrimination of Swift or Defoe to select in a fictitious narrative, such an enumeration of minute incidents as might strike the beholder of a real fact, especially such a one as has not been taught by an enlarged mind and education, to generalize his observations.

The proposition I have ventured to lay down respecting the art of giving verisimilitude to a fictitious narrative, has a corollary resting on this one principle. As minute particulars, pressing close upon the observation of the narrator, occupy a disproportionate share of his narrative, and of his observation, so circumstances more important in themselves, in those cases, attract his notice only partially, and are, therefore, but imperfectly detailed; in other words, there is a distance as also a foreground in narrative as in natural perspective, and the scale of objects necessarily decreases as they are withdrawn from the vicinity of him who reports them. In this particular the art of Swift is equally manifest. The information which Gulliver acquires from hearsay is communicated in a more vague and general manner than that reported on his own knowledge. He does not, like other voyagers in Utopian realms, bring us back a minute account of their laws and government, but merely such general information upon these topics as a well informed and curious

stranger may be reasonably supposed to acquire during some months' residence in a foreign country. In short, the narratives—the centre and main spring of the story, which neither exhibits a degree of extended information, such as circumstances could not permit him to acquire, nor omits those minute incidents which the same circumstances rendered of importance to him, because immediately affecting his own person. Swift has the more easily attained this perfection of fictitious narrative, because in all his work, of whatever description, he has attained the most undeviating attention to the point at issue. What Mr. Cambridge has justly observed of the Battle of Books, is equally true as a general characteristic of Swift's writings; whoever examines them will find that through the whole piece, no one episode or allusion is introduced for its own sake, but every point appears not only consistent with, but written for the express purpose of strengthening and supporting the whole. Upon the style of Swift Dr. Johnson made the following observations, which are entitled to weight from the learning and character of the critic. It is, however, as Scott observes, to be considered, that the author of the Rambler may be supposed in some degree to undervalue a structure of composition so strikingly opposed to his own, and that Dr. Johnson appears to have been unfriendly to the memory of Swift.

“In his works he has given very different specimens both of sentiment and expression. His Tale of a Tub has little resemblance to his other pieces. It exhibits a vehemence and rapidity of mind, a copiousness of images and a vivacity of diction, such as he afterwards never possessed or never

exerted. It is of a mode so distinct and peculiar that it must be considered of itself, what is true, of that, is not true of any thing else that he has written. In his other works is found an agreeable tenor of easy language, which rather trickles than flows. His delight was in simplicity. That he has in his works no metaphor, as has been stated, is not true, but his few metaphors seem to be received rather by necessity than choice. He studied purity, and though perhaps all his strictures are not exact, yet it is not often these solecisms can be found; and whoever depends on his authority may generally conclude himself safe. His sentences are never too much dilated or contracted, and it would not be easy to find any embarrassment in the complication of his clauses, any inconsequence in his connections, or abruptness in his transitions. His style was well suited to his thoughts, which are never subtilized by rare disquisitions, decorated by sparkling conceits, elevated by ambitious sentences, or variegated by far sought learning. He pays no court to the passions, he excites neither surprise nor admiration. He always understands himself, and his readers always understand him. The peruser of Swift wants little previous knowledge, and it is sufficient that he is acquainted with common words and with common things. He is neither required to mount elevations, nor explore profundities. His passage is always on a level, or by solid ground, without asperities, without obstruction." Granger, in his Biographical History, has given the following character of Swift, which has been thought worthy of insertion in more than one of the accounts of his life.

"Jonathan Swift was possessed in a higher degree than

any of his contemporaries with the power of a creative genius. The more we dwell on the character and writings of this great man, the more they improve upon us; in whatever light we view him he still appears to be an original. His wit, his humor, his patriotism, his charity, and his piety, were of a different cast from those of other men. He had in his virtues few equals, and in his talents no superior. In that of humor, and especially of irony, he ever was, and probably ever will be, unrivalled. He did the highest honour to his country by his parts, and was a great blessing to it by the vigilance and activity of his public spirit. His style, which generally consists of the most naked and simple terms, is strong, clear, and expressive; familiar without vulgarity or meanness, and beautiful without affectation or ornament. He is sometimes licentious in his satire, and transgresses the bounds of delicacy and purity. He, in the latter part of his life, availed himself of the privilege of his great wit to trifle; but when, in this instance, we deplore the misapplication of such wonderful abilities, we at the same time admire the whims, if not the dotage of Swift. He was, perhaps, the only clergyman of his time who had a thorough knowledge of men and manners. His *Tale of a Tub*, his *Gulliver's Travels*, and his *Drapier's Letters*, are the most considerable of his prose works, and his *Legion Club*, his *Cadenus and Vanessa*, and his *Rhapsody on poetry*, are at the head of his poetical performances. His writings in general are regarded as standing models of our language, as well as perpetual monuments of their author's fame."

PART I.

A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT

A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT.*

CHAPTER I.

The author gives some account of himself and family—his first inducements to travel—he is shipwrecked, and swims for his life—gets safe on shore in the country of Lilliput—is made a prisoner, and carried up the country.

My father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire; I was the third of five sons. He sent me to Emanuel College in Cambridge, at fourteen years old, where I resided three years, and applied myself close to my studies; but the charge of maintaining me, although I had a very scanty allowance,

* Gulliver's travels were originally designed to form part of a satire on the Abuse of Human Learning, projected by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot. In their joint publication, the "Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus," the sketch of the work is thus given by Pope:—

"It was in the year 1699, that Martin set out on his travels. Thou wilt certainly be very curious to know what they were. It is not yet time to inform thee; but what hints I am at liberty to give I will.

"Thou shalt know, then, that in his first voyage he was carried by a prosperous storm to a discovery of the ancient Pygmean empire.

"That, in his second, he was happily shipwrecked on the land of the Giants, the most humane people in the world.

"That, in his third, he discovered a whole kingdom of philosophers, who govern by the mathematics; with whose admirable schemes and projects he returned to benefit his own dear country; but had the misfortune to find them rejected by the envious ministers of Queen Anne, and himself sent treacherously away.

"And hence it is that in his fourth voyage he discovers a vein of melancholy, proceeding almost to a disgust of his species; but above all, a mortal detestation of the whole flagitious race of ministers, and a final resolution not to give in any memorial to the Secretary of State, in order to subject the lands he discovered to the crown of Great Britain.

being too great for a narrow fortune, I was bound apprentice to Mr. James Bates, an eminent surgeon in London, with whom I continued four years; and my father now and then sending me small sums of money, I laid them out in learning

"Now, if by these hints the reader can help himself to a farther discovery of the nature and contents of these travels, he is welcome to as much light as they afford him: I am obliged by all the ties of honour, not to speak more openly."

Pope, however, appears to have been displeased at the substitution of Lemuel Gulliver for Martinus Scriblerus; he adds, rather ill-naturedly:

"But if any man shall see such very extraordinary voyages which manifest the most distinguishing marks of a philosopher, a politician, and a legislator, and can imagine them to belong to *a surgeon of a ship, or a captain of a merchantman*, let him remain in his ignorance."

Swift himself thus announces the approaching appearance of the work, in a letter to Pope, dated Dublin, September 29th, 1725, "I have employed my time (besides ditching) in finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing my travels, in four parts complete, newly augmented, and intended for the press when the world shall deserve them, or rather when a printer shall be found bold enough to venture his ears."

The existence of a nation of pigmies was firmly believed in ancient times. The diminutive race is mentioned by Herodotus, Aristotle, Pliny, and even by some of the earlier modern travellers. The following account is from Ctesias, who was contemporary with Xenophon. "In the middle of India, there are black men called pigmies, using the same language as the other Indians; they are very little, the tallest of them being but two cubits, and most of them but a cubit and a half high. They have very long hair, reaching down to their knees and lower; and a beard larger than any man's. After their beards are grown long they wear no clothes, but the hair of their heads falls behind a great deal below their hams, and that of their beard before comes down to their feet; then laying their hair thick all about their body, they afterwards gird themselves, making use of their hair for clothes. They are flat-nosed and ill-favoured. Their sheep are like lambs, and their oxen and asses scarce as big as rams, and their horses and mules, and all their other cattle, not bigger. Three thousand of these pigmies are household troops in the service of the king of India. They are good archers. They are very just, and use the same laws as the Indians do."

Some of the old commentators on the Bible translated the word *Gammachia*, pigmies, and it is so rendered in the Vulgate: "This circumstance," as Sir Thomas Browne remarks in his 'Enquiries into Vulgar Errors,' tended greatly to confirm popular belief in the existence of this fabulous race." Viewed as a mere fiction, the account of Lilliput did not appear so extravagant in Swift's days as it does in ours. Every one has heard the story of the Irish bishop, a very learned man, who, having read the voyage to Lilliput, said that "there were some things in it, which he could not believe."

After the publication of the Travels, Swift was much amused to find that Gulliver was a real name, and that a Mr. Jonathan Gulliver was a member of the House of

navigation, and other parts of the mathematics, useful to those who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be, some time or other, my fortune to do. When I left Mr. Bates, I went down to my father; where, by the assistance of him and my uncle John, and some other relations, I got forty pounds, and a promise of thirty pounds a year to maintain me at Leyden; there I studied physic two years and seven months, knowing it would be useful to me in long voyages. Soon after my return from Leyden, I was recommended by my good master, Mr. Bates, to be surgeon to the *Swallow*, Captain Abraham Pannell commander; with whom I continued three years and a half, making a voyage or two into the Levant and some other parts. When I came back I resolved to settle in London; to which Mr. Bates, my master, encouraged me, and by him I was recommended to several patients. I took part of a small house in the Old Jewry; and being advised to alter my condition, I married Miss Mary Burton, second daughter to Mr. Edmund Burton, hosier in Newgate-street, with whom I received four hundred pounds for a portion.*

Representatives in Boston. An American writer adds, that this Jonathan deemed it necessary to disclaim publicly all connexion with Lemuel.

*Swift and Defoe are unrivalled in the art of introducing trifling and minute circumstances, which give an air of reality to their fictitious narratives. In Gulliver's early history, as in that of Crusoe, persons are casually mentioned, of whom we hear nothing more. Gulliver's uncle, like Crusoe's brother, only comes on the stage to disappear again for ever. This is quite contrary to the usual course of romance writers, who rarely introduce a personage or an incident that does not in some way aid the development of the plot. Sir Walter Scott suggests that Swift probably imitated Defoe in this particular, but the ideal character of Gulliver naturally led the Dean to introduce these petty particulars. He designed to portray Gulliver as a kind of second Dampier, uniting the homely sense and prejudice of a true-born Englishman to the acquired wisdom of a life of adventures. There is a sailor's bluntness and frankness in everything that Gulliver tells us of himself and family; the occasional minuteness, and even coarseness, of the personal details are faithfully taken from the journals of the early English voyagers, whose accounts of their discoveries are strangely blended with the most trifling particulars respecting their food, clothing, etc. The character of Gulliver is that of a thorough English sailor; his education at Leyden did not raise him too high above the rude tars with whom

But my good master Bates dying in two years after, and I having few friends, my business began to fail; for my conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad practice of too many among my brethren. Having, therefore, consulted with my wife and some of my acquaintance, I determined to go again to sea. I was surgeon successively in two ships, and made several voyages, for six years, to the East and West Indies, by which I got some addition to my fortune. My hours of leisure I spent in reading the best authors, ancient and modern, being always provided with a good number of books; and when I was ashore, in observing the manners and dispositions of the people, as well as learning their language; wherein I had great facility, by the strength of my memory.

The last of these voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the sea, and intended to stay at home with my wife and family. I removed from the Old Jewry to Fetter-lane, and from thence to Wapping, hoping to get business among the sailors, but it would not turn to account. After three years' expectation that things would mend, I accepted an advantageous offer from Captain William Prichard, master of the *Antelope*, who was making a voyage to the South Sea. We set sail from Bristol, May 4, 1699, and our voyage at first was very prosperous.

It would not be proper, for some reasons, to trouble the reader with the particulars of our adventures in those seas; let it suffice to inform him, that in our passage from thence to the East Indies, we were driven by a violent storm to the north-west of Van Dieman's Land.* By an observation, we

he mingled, and we always find his learning brought forward with difficulty, and by an effort, while his mother-wit and sailor's courage are present in every emergency.

*This island was first discovered, A. D. 1633, by Abel Janson Tasman, a Dutch navigator, who called it Van Diemen's Land, after the governor of Batavia, by whom he had been sent to examine the Southern Ocean. Tasman's narrative was very loose and inaccurate, so that Swift might people the seas which that navigator traversed, with any creatures he pleased.

found ourselves in the latitude of 30 degrees 2 minutes south. Twelve of our crew were dead by immoderate labor and ill food; the rest were in a very weak condition. On the 5th of November, which was the beginning of summer in those parts, the weather being very hazy, the seamen spied a rock within half a cable's length of the ship; but the wind was so strong that we were driven directly upon it, and immediately split. Six of the crew, of whom I was one, having let down the boat into the sea, made a shift to get clear of the ship and the rock. We rowed, by my computation, about three leagues, till we were able to work no longer, being already spent with labor while we were in the ship. We therefore trusted ourselves to the mercy of the waves, and in about half an hour the boat was upset by a sudden flurry from the north. What became of my companions in the boat, as well as of those who escaped on the rock, or were left in the vessel, I cannot tell; but conclude they were all lost. For my own part, I swam as fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by wind and tide. I often let my legs drop, and could feel no bottom; but when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth; and by this time the storm was much abated. The declivity was so small, that I walked near a mile before I got to the shore, which I conjectured was about eight o'clock in the evening. I then advanced forward near half a mile, but could not discover any sign of houses or inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a condition that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired, and with that, and the heat of the weather, and about half a pint of brandy that I drank as I left the ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remembered to have done in my life, and, as I reckoned, about nine hours; for when I awaked, it was just daylight. I attempted to rise, but was

not able to stir; for, as I happened to lie on my back, I found my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground; and my hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner. I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my arm-pits to my thighs. I could only look upwards; the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended my eyes. I heard a confused noise about me; but in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left leg, which advancing gently forward over my breast, came almost up to my chin; when bending my eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hands, and a quiver at his back.* In the meantime, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt by the falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the ground. However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my face, lifting up his hands and eyes by way of admiration, cried out in a shrill but distinct voice, *Hedinah degul!* the others repeated the same words several times, but I then knew not what they meant.

I lay all this while, as the reader may believe, in great uneasiness; at length struggling to get loose, I had the for-

* This incident is taken from Philostratus. (Icon. lib. ii. p. 817). "The pigmies," he says, "were anxious to revenge the death of Antæus, and having found Hercules napping in Libya, they mustered up all their forces against him. One phalanx assaulted his left hand; but against his right hand, that being the stronger, two phalanxes were appointed. The archers and slingers besieged his feet, admiring the hugeness of his thighs; but against his head, as the arsenal, they raised batteries, the king himself taking his post there. They set fire to his hair, put reaping-hooks in his eyes; and that he might not breathe, fixed doors to his mouth and nostrils. But all the execution that they could do was only to awake him; and when this was done, deriding their folly, he gathered them all up into his lion's skin, and carried them (Philostratus thinks) to Euristhenes."

tune to break the strings, and wrench out the pegs that fastened my left arm to the ground; for, by lifting it up to my face, I discovered the methods they had taken to bind me, and at the same time with a violent pull, which gave me excessive pain, I a little loosened the strings that tied down my hair on the left side, so that I was just able to turn my head about two inches. But the creatures ran off a second time before I could seize them; whereupon there was a great shout in a very shrill accent, and after it had ceased I heard one of them cry aloud, *Tolgo phonac*; when in an instant I felt above a hundred arrows discharged on my left hand, which pricked me like so many needles; and besides, they shot another flight into the air, as we do bombs in Europe, whereof many, I suppose fell on my body (though I felt them not), and some on my face, which I immediately covered with my left hand. When this shower of arrows was over, I felt a groaning with grief and pain, and then striving again to get loose, they discharged another volley larger than the first, and some of them attempted with spears to stick me in the sides; but by good luck I had on me a buff jerkin which they could not pierce. I thought it the most prudent method to lie still, and my design was to continue so till night, when my left arm being already loose I could easily free myself and as for the inhabitants I had reason to believe I might be a match for the greatest army they could bring against me, if they were all of the same size with him that I saw. But fortune disposed otherwise of me. When the people observed I was quiet, they discharged no more arrows; but, by the noise I heard, I knew their numbers increased; and about four yards from me, over against my right ear, I heard a knocking for above an hour, like that of people at work; when turning my head that way as well as the pegs and strings would permit me, I saw a stage erected about a foot and a half from the ground, capable of holding four of the

inhabitants, with two or three ladders to mount it; from whence one of them who seemed to be a person of quality, made me a long speech, whereof I understood not one syllable.* But I should have mentioned, that before the principal person began his oration, he cried out three times, *Langro dehul san* (these words and the former were afterwards repeated and explained to me). Whereupon, immediately about fifty of the inhabitants came and cut the string that fastened the left side of my head, which gave me the liberty of turning to the right, and of observing the person and gesture of him that was to speak. He appeared to be of middle age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him,

* Moore has made a very amusing use of this incident, in an ode to Sir Hudson Lowe, which is too good to be passed over with a mere reference.

Sir Hudson Lowe, Sir Hudson *Lowe*,
 (By name, and ah! by nature so,)
 As thou art fond of persecutions;
 Perhaps thou'st read, or heard repeated
 How Captain Gulliver was treated,
 When thrown among the Lilliputians.

They tied him down—these little men did—
 And having valiantly ascended
 Upon the mighty man's protuberance,
 They did so strut! Upon my soul
 It must have been extremely droll
 To see their pigmy pride's exuberance!

And how the doughty mannikins
 Amused themselves with sticking pins
 And needles in the great man's breeches;
 And how some *very* little things,
 That pass'd for lords, on scaffoldings
 Got up and worried him with speeches.

Alas! alas! that it should happen,
 To mighty men to be caught napping;
 Though different too these persecutions;
 For Gulliver there took the nap,
 While *Zero* the Nap—ah, sad mishap!—
 Is taken by the Lilliputians.

whereof one was a page that held up his train, and seemed to be somewhat longer than my middle finger; and the other two stood one on each side to support him. He acted every part of an orator, and I could observe many periods of threatenings, and others of promises, pity, and kindness.* I answered in a few words, but in the most submissive manner, lifting up my left hand and both my eyes to the sun, as calling him for a witness; and being almost famished with hunger, not having eaten a morsel for some hours before I left the ship, I found the demands of nature so strong upon me that I could not forbear showing my impatience (perhaps against the strict rules of decency), by putting my finger frequently to my mouth, to signify that I wanted food. The *hurgo* (for so they call a great lord as I afterwards learnt) understood me very well. He descended from the stage, and commanded that several ladders should be applied to my sides, on which above a hundred inhabitants mounted and walked towards my mouth, laden with baskets full of meat, which had been provided and sent thither by the king's orders, upon the first intelligence he received of me. I observed there was the flesh of several animals, but could not distinguish them by the taste. There were shoulders, legs and loins, shaped like those of mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the wings of a lark. I ate them by two and three at a mouthful, and took three loaves at a time about the bigness of musket bullets. They supplied me as fast as they could, showing a thou-

* In the excitement that followed the Revolution, public speaking became more common in England than it had ever been before, and several of the whig lords rendered efficient service to the cause of the Hanoverian succession, by their speeches at county meetings. Swift despised and hated these itinerant orators, to whose exertions the overthrow of his party was mainly owing, and it is probable that in this description he alludes to some particular leader of the whig party who was remarkable for his addresses to popular assemblies. Sir Robert Walpole after his expulsion from parliament was an active agitator among the whigs, and was not less formidable to Harley and Bolingbroke, outside the walls of the House of Commons, than he had been as a leader of parliamentary opposition.

said marks of wonder and astonishment at my bulk and appetite.

I then made another sign that I wanted drink. They found by my eating that a small quantity would not suffice me; and being a most ingenious people, they slung up, with great dexterity, one of their largest hogsheads, then rolled it towards my hand, and beat out the top; I drank it off at a draught, which I might well do, for it did not hold half a pint, and tasted like a small wine of Burgundy, but much more delicious. They brought me a second hogshead, which I drank in the same manner, and made signs for more; but they had none to give me. When I had performed these wonders they shouted for joy, and danced upon my breast, repeating several times as they did at first, *Hekinah degul*. They made me a sign that I should throw down the two hogsheads, but first warning the people below to stand out of the way, crying aloud, *Borach mevolah*, and when they saw the vessels in the air, there was a universal shout of *Hekinah degul*. I confess I was often tempted, while they were passing backwards and forwards on my body, to seize forty or fifty of the first that came in my reach, and dash them against the ground. But the remembrance of what I had felt, which probably might not be the worst they could do, and the promise of honour I made them—for so I interpreted my submissive behaviour—soon drove out these imaginations. Besides, I now considered myself as bound by the laws of hospitality, to a people who had treated me with so much expense and magnificence. However, in my thoughts I could not sufficiently wonder at the intrepidity of these diminutive mortals, who durst venture to mount and walk upon my body while one of my hands was at liberty, without trembling at the very sight of so prodigious a creature as I must appear to them. After some time, when they observed that I made no more demands for meat, there appeared before me a person of high rank from his imperial

majesty. His excellency, having mounted on the small of my right leg, advanced forwards up to my face, with about a dozen of his retinue, and producing his credentials under the signet royal, which he applied close to my eyes, spoke about ten minutes without any signs of anger, but with a kind of determinate resolution; often pointing forwards, which as I afterwards found, was towards the capital city, about half a mile distant, whither it was agreed by his majesty in council that I must be conveyed. I answered in few words, but to no purpose, and made a sign with my hand that was loose, putting it to the other (but over his excellency's head for fear of hurting him or his train), and then to my own head and body, to signify that I desired my liberty.

It appeared that he understood me well enough, for he shook his head by way of disapprobation, and held his hands in a posture to show that I must be carried as a prisoner. However, he made other signs, to let me understand that I should have meat and drink enough, and very good treatment. Whereupon I once more thought of attempting to break my bonds; but again, when I felt the smart of their arrows upon my face and hands, which were all in blisters, and many of the darts still sticking in them, and observing likewise that the number of my enemies increased, I gave tokens to let them know that they might do with me what they pleased. Upon this, the *hurgo* and his train withdrew, with much civility and cheerful countenances. Soon after I heard a general shout, with frequent repetitions of the words, *Peplom selan*; and I felt great numbers of the people on my left side relaxing the cords to such a degree that I was able to turn upon my right, and to ease myself with making water; which I very plentifully did, to the great astonishment of the people; who, conjecturing by my motion what I was going to do, immediately opened to the right and left on that side, to avoid the torrent, which fell with such noise and violence from me. But, before

this they had daubed my face and both my hands with a sort of ointment, very pleasant to the smell, which in a few minutes removed all the smart of their arrows. These circumstances, added to the refreshment I had received by their victuals and drink, which were very nourishing, disposed me to sleep. I slept about eight hours, as I was afterwards assured; and it was no wonder, for the physicians, by the emperor's order, had mingled a sleepy potion in the hogsheads of wine.

It seems, that upon the first moment I was discovered sleeping on the ground, after my landing, the emperor had early notice of it by an express; and determined in council, that I should be tied in the manner I have related (which was done in the night while I slept), that plenty of meat and drink should be sent me, and a machine prepared to carry me to the capital city. This resolution perhaps may appear very bold and dangerous, and I am confident would not be imitated by any prince in Europe on the like occasion. However, in my opinion, it was extremely prudent, as well as generous; for, supposing these people had endeavoured to kill me with their spears and arrows, while I was asleep, I should certainly have awaked with the first sense of smart, which might so far have aroused my rage and strength as to have enabled me to break the strings wherewith I was tied; after which, as they were not able to make resistance, so they could expect no mercy.

These people are most excellent mathematicians, and arrived to a great perfection in mechanics by the countenance and encouragement of the emperor, who is a renowned patron of learning. This prince has several machines fixed on wheels, for the carriage of trees and other great weights. He often builds his largest men-of-war, whereof some are nine feet long, in woods where the timber grows, and has them carried on these engines three or four hundred yards to the sea. Five hundred carpenters and engineers were immediately set at work to prepare the greatest engine they had. It was a frame

of wood raised three inches from the ground, about seven feet long and four wide, moving upon twenty-two wheels. The shout I heard was upon the arrival of this engine, which, it seems, set out in four hours after my landing. It was brought parallel to me, as I lay. But the principal difficulty was to raise and place me in this vehicle. Eighty poles, each of one foot high, were erected for this purpose, and very strong cords of the bigness of packthread, were fastened by hooks to many bandages, which the workmen had girt round my neck, my hands, my body, and my legs. Nine hundred of the strongest men were employed to draw up these cords, by many pulleys fastened on poles; and thus, in less than three hours, I was raised and slung into the engine, and there tied fast.* All this I was told; for, while the operation was performing, I lay in a profound sleep, by the force of that soporiferous medicine infused into my liquor. Fifteen hundred of the emperor's largest horses, each about four inches and a half high, were employed to draw me towards the metropolis, which, as I said, was half a mile distant.

About four hours after we began our journey, I awaked by a very ridiculous accident; for the carriage being stopped a while, to adjust something that was out of order, two or three young natives had the curiosity to see how I looked when I was asleep; they climbed up into the engine, and advanced very softly to my face; one of them an officer in the guards, put the sharp end of his half-pike a good way up into my left

*The caution of the Lilliputian courtiers is probably designed to ridicule the over-acted solicitude by which the ministers of George I. affected to protect the king from the plots of Jacobites. The Tories who hastened to greet the king on his landing, were either refused admittance or harshly dismissed. "Lord Harcourt, who arrived with a patent for the peerage of the Prince of Wales, was abruptly dismissed; the Duke of Ormond, who was hastening to Greenwich, was forbidden to appear in the royal presence; and Lord Oxford, who had shown more joy in proclaiming the king, than his friends thought respectful towards the late queen, was barely admitted in the crowd to kiss the king's hand."—*Lord J. Russell's Affairs of Europe*, vol. i. p. 308.

nostril, which tickled my nose like a straw, and made me sneeze violently; whereupon they stole off unperceived, and it was three weeks before I knew the cause of my waking so suddenly. We made a long march the remaining part of the day, and rested at night with five hundred guards on each side of me, half with torches, and half with bows and arrows, ready to shoot me if I offered to stir. The next morning at sunrise we continued our march, and arrived within two hundred yards of the city gates about noon. The emperor and all his court, came out to meet us, but his great officers would by no means suffer his majesty to endanger his person by mounting on my body.

At a place where the carriage stopped, there stood an ancient temple, esteemed to be the largest in the kingdom; which having been polluted some years before by an unnatural murder, was, according to the zeal of those people, looked upon as profane, and therefore had been applied to common use, and all the ornaments and furniture carried away. In this edifice it was determined I should lodge. The great gate fronting to the north was about four feet high, and almost two feet wide, through which I could easily ereep. On each side of the gate was a small window, not above six inches from the ground; into that on the left side the king's smith conveyed four score and eleven chains, like those that hang to a ladies watch in Europe, and almost as large, which were locked to my left leg and six-and-thirty padlocks. Over against this temple, on the other side of the great highway, at twenty feet distance, there was a turret at least five feet high. Here the emperor ascended, with many principal lords of his court, to have an opportunity of viewing me, as I was told, for I could not see them. It was reckoned that above a hundred thousand inhabitants came out of the town upon the same errand; and in spite of my guards, I believe there could be no fewer than ten thousand at several times, who mounted my body by

the help of ladders. But a proclamation was soon issued, to forbid it upon pain of death. When the workmen found it was impossible for me to break loose, they cut all the strings that bound me; whereupon I rose up, with as melancholy a disposition as ever I had in my life. But the noise and astonishment of the people, at seeing me rise and walk, are not to be expressed. The chains that held my left leg were about two yards long, and gave me not only the liberty of walking backwards and forwards in a semicircle; but, being fixed within four inches of the gate, allowed me to creep in, and lie at my full length in the temple.

CHAPTER II.

The Emperor of Lilliput, attended by several of the nobility, comes to see the author in his confinement—The Emperor's person and habits described.—Learned men appointed to teach the author their language—He gains favour by his mild disposition—His pockets are searched, and his sword and pistols taken from him.

QUIETLY as I had endured my tedious confinement to one posture, it was with great pleasure that I found myself again upon my feet: I looked about me, and must confess that I never beheld a more entertaining prospect. The country around appeared like a continued garden, and the enclosed fields, which were generally forty feet square, resembled so many beds of flowers. These fields were intermingled with woods of half a *stang*,* and the tallest trees as I could judge appeared to be seven feet high. I viewed the town on my left hand, which looked like the painted scene of a city in a theatre.

I had been for some hours extremely pressed by the necessities of nature; which was no wonder, it being almost two days since I last disburdened myself. I was under great difficulties between urgency and shame. The best expedient I could think on, was to creep into my house, which I accordingly did, and shutting the gate after me, I went as far as the length of my chain would suffer, and discharged my body of that uneasy load. But this was the only time I was ever guilty of so uncleanly an action; for which I cannot but

* A stang is a pole or perch; sixteen feet and a half.—Orig.

hope the candid reader will give some allowance, after he has candidly and impartially considered my case, and the distress I was in. From this time my constant practice was, as soon as I rose to perform my business in the open air, at the full extent of my chain; and due care was taken every morning, before company came, that the offensive matter should be carried off in wheelbarrows, by two servants appointed for that purpose. I would not have dwelt so long upon a circumstance that perhaps at first sight may appear not very momentous, if I had not thought it necessary to justify my character, in point of cleanliness to the world; which, I am told some of my maligners have been pleased, upon this and other occasions to call in question.

When this adventure was at an end, I came back out of my house, having occasion for fresh air. The emperor was already descended from the tower, and advancing on horseback towards me, which had like to have cost him dear; for the beast, though well trained, yet wholly unused to such a sight, which appeared as if a mountain moved before him, reared up on his hinder feet; but that prince, who is an excellent horseman, kept his seat, till his attendants ran in, and held the bridle, while his majesty had time to dismount. When he alighted, he surveyed me round with great admiration; but kept beyond the length of my chain. He ordered his cooks and butlers, who were already prepared, to give me victuals and drink, which they pushed forward in a sort of vehicles upon wheels, till I could reach them. I took these vehicles, and soon emptied them all: twenty of them were filled with meat, and ten with liquor; each of the former afforded me two or three good mouthfuls; and I emptied the liquor of ten vessels, which was contained in earthen vials, into one vehicle, drinking it off at a draught; and so I did with the rest. The empress and young ladies of the blood of both sexes,

attended by many ladies, sat at some distance in their chairs: but upon the accident that happened to the emperor's horse, they alighted, and came near to his person, which I am now going to describe. He is taller, by almost the breadth of my nail, than any of his court; which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders. His features are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip, and arched nose; his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful, and his deportment majestic. He was then past his prime, being twenty-eight years and three quarters old, of which he had reigned about seven in great felicity, and generally victorious.* For the better convenience of beholding him, I lay on my side, so that my face was parallel to his, and he stood but three yards off: however, I have had him since many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the description. His dress was very plain and simple, and the fashion of

* There can be little room for doubting that in the description of the emperor of Lilliput, Swift dimly shadowed forth some leading traits in the character of George I. The points of direct resemblance, however, for obvious reasons, are very few; it is only by collecting all the incidents recorded of the Lilliputian emperor, that we find out his general similarity to the first monarch of the house of Brunswick. The following account of George I. will enable the reader to discover the most prominent points of identity in the two portraits. "George I. ascended the English throne in his fifty-fifth year, when men are usually more disposed to acquiesce in the settled routine than venture on novel and perhaps troublesome experiments. Moreover the natural disposition and understanding of the king were not of a kind, at any period of his life, to carry him out of the established orbit. He was a person of as simple tastes as appearance; in England he was a stranger; his home being Hanover. He naturally inclined to the seclusion of a private station, being shy and reserved in public, but easy and facetious among his intimates. During the fourteen years of his government of the electorate, he had acquired the reputation of a just and circumspect prince, who well understood and steadily pursued his own interests, and would have been well content to end his days in the petty sovereignty of his ancestors, had not the ambition of others been greater than his own. Punctual in business, he was more dull than ingenious; and the plain honesty of his temper, joined with the narrow notions of a low education, made him look upon his acceptance of the crown as an act of usurpation, which was always uneasy to him. He had no taste for literature or the arts, and was very parsimonious."—*Wade's British History*, p. 334.

it between the Asiatic and the European: but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the crest. He held his sword drawn in his hand to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose: it was almost three inches long; the hilt and scabbard were gold, enriched with diamonds. His voice was shrill, but very clear and articulate; and I could distinctly hear it when I stood up. The ladies and courtiers were all most magnificently clad; so that the spot they stood upon seemed to resemble a petticoat spread on the ground, embroidered with figures of gold and silver. His imperial majesty spoke often to me, and I returned answers; but neither of us could understand a syllable. There were several of his priests and lawyers present (as I conjectured by their habits), who were commanded to address themselves to me; and I spoke to them in as many languages as I had the least smattering of, which were High and Low Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and *Lingua Franca*; but all to no purpose. After about two hours the court retired; and I was left with a strong guard, to prevent the impertinence, and probably the malice of the rabble; who were very impatient to crowd about me as near as they durst; and some of them had the impudence to shoot their arrows at me, as I sat on the ground by the door of my house, whereof one very narrowly missed my left eye. But the colonel ordered six of the ringleaders to be seized, and thought no punishment so proper as to deliver them bound into my hands; which some of his soldiers accordingly did, pushing them forwards with the butt-ends of their pikes into my reach. I took them all in my right hand, put five of them into my coat-pocket, and as to the sixth, I made a countenance as if I would eat him alive. The poor man squalled terribly, and the colonel and his officers were in much pain, especially when they saw me take out my penknife: but I soon put them out of fear; for

looking mildly, and immediately cutting the strings he was bound with, I set him gently on the ground and away he ran. I treated the rest in the same manner, taking them one by one out of my pocket; and I observed both the soldiers and people were highly delighted at this mark of my clemency, which was represented very much to my advantage at court.*

Towards night I got with some difficulty into my house, where I lay on the ground, and continued to do so about a fortnight; during which time, the emperor gave orders to have a bed prepared for me. Six hundred beds† of the common measure were brought in carriages, and worked up in my house; a hundred and fifty of their beds, sewn together, made up the breadth and length; and these were four double; which, however, kept me but very indifferently from the hardness of the floor, that was of smooth stone. By the same computation they provided me with sheets, blankets, and coverlets, tolerable enough for one who had been so long inured to hardships.

As the news of my arrival spread through the kingdom, it brought prodigious numbers of rich, idle, and curious people to see me; so that the villages were almost emptied; and great neglect of tillage and household affairs must have ensued, if his imperial majesty had not provided by several proclamations and orders of state, against this incon-

* Gulliver's history as a courtier at Lilliput, is obviously designed to represent the administration of Harley and Bolingbroke, at the close of Anne's reign. Whatever were the other demerits of that cabinet, it must be confessed that they showed more tenderness to the party by which they were opposed, and greater clemency to political delinquents, than their successors. This forbearance, especially in the case of libellers, is very ingeniously intimated by Gulliver's granting pardon to the malicious archers. Swift used frequently to remark that Anne was the only sovereign during whose entire reign no one suffered the penalties of high treason.

† Gulliver has observed great exactness in the just proportion and appearance of the objects thus lessened.—*Orrery*.

venience. He directed that those who had already beheld me should return home, and not presume to come within fifty yards of my house, without license from the court; whereby the secretaries of state got considerable fees.

In the mean time the emperor held frequent councils, to debate what course should be taken with me; and I was afterwards assured by a particular friend, a person of great quality, who was as much in the secret as any, that the court was under many difficulties concerning me. They apprehended my breaking loose; that my diet would be very expensive, and might cause a famine.* Sometimes they determined to starve me, or at least to shoot me in the face and hands with poisoned arrows, which would soon dispatch me; but again they considered that the stench of so large a carcass might produce a plague in the metropolis, and probably spread through the whole kingdom. In the midst of these consultations several officers of the army went to the door of the great council chamber, and two of them being admitted, gave an account of my behaviour to the six criminals above mentioned; which made so favourable an impression in the breast of his majesty and the whole board, in my behalf, that an imperial commission was issued out obliging all the villages, nine hundred yards round the city, to deliver in every morning six beeves, forty sheep, and other victuals for my sustenance; together with a proportionable quantity of bread, and wine, and other liquors; for the due payment of which, his majesty gave assignments upon his treasury, for this prince lives chiefly upon his own demesnes; seldom except upon great occasions raising any subsidies upon his subjects, who are bound to attend him in his wars at their own expense. An establishment was also made of six hundred persons to be my domes-

* The parsimony of George I. has been already noticed; "avarice was so predominant in him, that he would raise no troops to secure the succession."—*Wade's British History*, p. 334.

tics, who had board wages allowed for their maintenance, and tents built for them very conveniently on each side of my door. It was likewise ordered that three hundred tailors should make me a suit of clothes, after the fashion of their country, and that six of his majesty's great scholars should be employed to instruct me in their language; and lastly, that the emperor's horses, and those of the nobility and troops of guards, should be frequently exercised in my sight, to accustom themselves to me. All these orders were duly put in execution; and in about three weeks I made a great progress in learning their language: during which time the emperor frequently honoured me with his visits, and was pleased to assist my masters in teaching me. We began already to converse together in some sort; and the first words I learnt, were to express my desire "that he would be pleased to give me my liberty;" which I every day repeated on my knees. His answer, as I could apprehend it, was, "that this must be a work of time, not to be thought on without the advice of his council, and that at first, I must *lumos kelmin pesso desmar lon emposo*;" that is, swear a peace with him and his kingdom: however, that I should be used with all kindness; and he advised me "to acquire, by my patience and discreet behaviour, the good opinion of himself and his subjects." He desired "I would not take it ill, if he gave orders to certain proper officers to search me; for probably I might carry about me several weapons, which must needs be dangerous things, if they answered the bulk of so prodigious a person." I said, "His majesty should be satisfied; for I was ready to strip myself, and turn up my pockets before him." This I delivered, part in words, and part in signs. He replied, "that, by the laws of the kingdom, I must be searched by two of his officers; that he knew this could not be done without my consent and assistance; and he had so good an opinion of my generosity and justice, as to trust their

persons in my hands; that whatever they took from me, should be returned when I left the country, or paid for at the rate which I would set upon them." I took up the two officers in my hands, put them first into my coat-pockets, and then into every other pocket about me, except my two fobs and another secret pocket, which I had no mind should be searched, wherein I had some little necessities that were of no consequence to any but myself. In one of my fobs there was a silver watch, and in the other a small quantity of gold in a purse. These gentlemen, having pen, ink, and paper about them, made an exact inventory of everything they saw; and when they had done, desired I would set them down, that they might deliver it to the emperor. This inventory I afterwards translated into English, and is word for word as follows:*

"*Imprimis*, In the right coat-pocket of the great Man-mountain (for so I interpret the words *quinbus flestrin*) after the strictest search, we found only one great piece, of coarse cloth, large enough to be a foot-cloth for your majesty's chief room of state. In the left pocket we saw a huge silver chest, with a cover of the same metal, which we, the searchers, were not able to lift. We desired it should be opened, and one of us stepping into it, found himself up to the midleg in a sort of dust, some part whereof flying up to our faces, set us both a sneezing for several times together. In his right waistcoat-pocket we found a prodigious bundle of white thin substances, folded one over another, about the bigness of three men, tied with a strong cable, and marked with black figures; which we humbly conceive to be writings, every letter almost half as large as the palm of our hands. In the

* This inventory is designed to ridicule the reports of the several committees of secrecy appointed by Walpole to investigate the presumed designs of the Jacobites, and especially the secret negotiations said to be connected with the treaty of Utrecht. It was said of these reports, that the committees "found nothing suspicious but what they could not understand;" to which it was added that "as they understood nothing, they suspected everything."

left there was a sort of engine, from the back of which were extended twenty long poles, resembling the palisadoes before your majesty's court; wherewith we conjecture the man-mountain combs his head, for we did not always trouble him with questions, because we found it a great difficulty to make him understand us. In the large pocket, on the right side of his middle cover (so I translate the word *ranfu-lo*, by which they meant my breeches), we saw a hollow pillar of iron, about the length of a man, fastened to a strong piece of timber, larger than the pillar; and upon one side of the pillar were huge pieces of iron sticking out, cut into strange figures which we knew not what to make of. In the left pocket another engine of the same kind. In the smaller pocket on the right side, were several round flat pieces of white and red metal, of different bulk; some of the white which seemed to be silver, were so large and heavy that my comrade and I could hardly lift them. In the left pocket were two black pillars irregularly shaped; we could not without difficulty reach the top of them, as we stood at the bottom of his pocket. One of them was covered, and seemed all of a piece; but at the upper end of the other there appeared a white round substance, about twice the bigness of our heads. Within each of these was enclosed a prodigious plate of steel; which by our orders, we obliged him to show us, because we apprehended they might be dangerous engines. He took them out of their cases, and told us, that in his own country his practice was to shave his beard with one of these, and cut his meat with the other. There were two pockets which we could not enter; these he called his fobs; they were two large slits cut into the top of his middle cover, but squeezed close by the pressure of his belly. Out of the right fob hung a great silver chain, with a wonderful kind of engine at the bottom. We directed him to draw out whatever was at the end of that chain, which appeared to be a globe, half silver, and half of some transparent metal; for, on the transparent side, we

saw certain figures circularly drawn, and thought we could touch them, till we found our fingers stopped by that lucid substance. He put this engine to our ears, which made an incessant noise, like that of a water-mill: and we conjecture it is either some unknown animal, or the God that he worships; but we are more inclined to the latter opinion, because he assured us (if we understood him right, for he expressed himself very imperfectly) that he seldom did anything without consulting it. He called it his oracle, and said it pointed out the time for every action of his life. From the left fob he took out a net almost large enough for a fisherman, but contrived to open and shut like a purse and which served him for the same use; we found therein several massy pieces of yellow metal, which if they be real gold, must be of immense value.

“Having thus in obedience to your majesty’s commands dilligently searched all his pockets, we observed a girdle about his waste, made of the hide of some prodigious animal, from which, on the left side, hung a sword of the length of five men, and on the right a bag or pouch, divided into two cells, each cell capable of holding three of your majesty’s subjects in one of these cells were several globes, or balls, of most ponderous metal, about the bigness of our heads, and required a strong hand to lift them; the other cell contained a heap of certain black grains, but of no great bulk or weight, for we could hold above fifty of them in the palms of our hands.

“This is an exact inventory of what we found about the body of the man-mountain, who used us with great civility, and due respect to your majesty’s commission. Signed and sealed on the fourth day of the eighty-ninth moon of your majesty’s auspicious reign:

Floasan Frolock.

Mawwi Frolock.

When this inventory was read over to the emperor, he directed me, although in very gentle terms, to deliver up the several particulars.* He first called for my scimitar, which I took out, scabbard and all. In the meantime he ordered three thousand of his choicest troops (who then attended him) to surround me at a distance, with their bows and arrows just ready to discharge; but I did not observe it, for mine eyes were wholly fixed on his majesty.† He then desired me to draw my scimitar, which, although it had got some rust by the sea-water, was, in most parts, exceedingly bright. I did so, and immediately all the troops gave a shout between terror and surprise; for the sun shone clear, and the reflection dazzled their eyes, as I waved the scimitar to and fro in my hand. His majesty who is a most magnanimous prince, was less daunted than I could expect: he ordered me to return it

* The searches made by the whigs in the houses of persons suspected of Jacobitism and Popery, are scarcely caricatured in this whimsical account of the examination of Gulliver's pockets. Sir Walter Scot has given a similar description in his *Peve-
ril of the Peak*, where the emissaries of the House of Commons, puzzled by the ordinary habits of life in the higher ranks, were disposed to find treason in a laced waistcoat, and Popery in a hooped petticoat. Writing in Ireland, Swift was likely to find an ample supply of searchers and alarmists, for the Cromwellian settlers, deriving their titles to their estates from no better source than the English suspicion and hatred of Popery, were anxious to keep alive such feelings; and catalogues of suspicious articles, even more ludicrous than those in the text, may be found in the records of Dublin Castle.

One of the objects of suspicion in those days, wearied out by constant requisitions to surrender his fire arms, and by the repeated annoyances which he had experienced, sent his poker, tongs and shovel to the arsenal, and took a regular receipt for them from the officer in command.

† There is an exquisite humour in these formal preparations for security, which escaped the notice of the persons they were intended to intimidate. The satire is directed against the precautions taken by the whig ministers on receiving information of real or pretended plots of the Jacobites, particularly in May, 1722, when "orders were issued to all military officers to repair to their respective commands. General Macartney was dispatched to Ireland, to bring over some troops into the west of England. Messengers were sent to Scotland to secure some suspected persons; and the states of Holland were directed to keep in readiness the guaranteed troops, to be sent to England in case of need."—*Wade*, 359. At the same time a proclamation was issued, commanding all Papists to depart from London and Westminster and for confining Papists to their habitations.

into the scabbard, and cast it on the ground, as gently as I could about six feet from the end of my chain. The next he demanded was one of the hollow iron pillars by which he meant my pocket pistols. I drew it out and at his desire, as well as I could, expressed to him the use of it; and charging it only with powder, which, by the closeness of my pouch happened to escape wetting in the sea (an inconvenience against which all prudent mariners take special care to provide), I first cautioned the emperor not to be afraid, and then I let it off in the air. The astonishment here was much greater than at sight of the scimitar. Hundreds fell down as if they had been struck dead; and even the emperor, although he stood his ground, could not recover himself for some time.

I delivered up both my pistols in the same manner as I had done my scimitar, and then my pouch of powder and bullets; begging him that the former might be kept from fire, for it would kindle with the smallest spark, and blow up his imperial palace into the air. I likewise delivered up my watch, which the emperor was very curious to see, and commanded two of his tallest yeomen of the guards to bear it on a pole upon their shoulders, as draymen in England do a barrel of ale. He was amazed at the continual noise it made, and the motion of the minute-hand, which he could easily discern, for their sight is much more acute than ours; he asked the opinions of his learned men about it, which were various and remote, as the reader may imagine without my repeating; although, indeed, I could not very perfectly understand them. I then gave up my silver and copper money, my purse with nine large pieces of gold, and some smaller ones; my knife and razer, my comb and silver snuff-box, my handkerchief and journal-book. My scimitar, pistols, and pouch, were conveyed in carriages to his majesty's stores; but the rest of my goods were returned me.

I had, as I before observed, one private pocket, which escaped their search, wherein there was a pair of spectacles (which I sometimes use for the weakness of mine eyes) a pocket perspective, and some other little conveniences; which, being of no consequence to the emperor, I did not think myself bound in honour to discover, and I apprehended they might be lost or spoiled, if I ventured them out of my possession.

CHAPTER III.

The author diverts the Emperor, and his nobility of both sexes, in a very uncommon manner—The diversions of the court of Lilliput described—The author has his liberty granted him upon certain conditions.

My gentleness and good behaviour had gained so far on the emperor and his court, and indeed upon the army and people in general, that I began to conceive hopes of getting my liberty in a short time. I took all possible methods to cultivate this favourable disposition. The natives came by degrees to be less apprehensive of any danger from me. I would sometimes lie down, and let five or six of them dance on my hand ; and at last the boys and girls would venture to come and play at hide-and-seek in my hair. I had now made a good progress in understanding and speaking the language. The emperor had a mind one day to entertain me with several of the country shows, wherein they exceeded all nations I have known, both for dexterity and magnificence. I was diverted with none so much as that of the rope-dancers, performed upon a slender white thread, extended about two feet, and twelve inches from the ground. Upon which I shall desire liberty, with the reader's patience, to enlarge a little.

This diversion is only practised by those persons who are candidates for great employments and high favour at court. They are trained in this art from their youth, and are not always of noble birth, or liberal education. When a great

office is vacant, either by death or disgrace (which often happens), five or six of those candidates petition the emperor to entertain his majesty and the court with a dance on the rope; and whoever jumps the highest without falling, succeeds in the office. Very often the chief ministers themselves are commanded to show their skill, and to convince the emperor that they have not lost their faculty. Flimnap, the treasurer, is allowed to cut a paper on the straight rope, at least an inch higher than any other lord in the whole empire. I have seen him do the *summerset** several times together upon a trencher fixed on a rope which is no thicker than a common packthread in England.† My friend Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, is in my opinion, if I

* *Summerset* or *summersault*, a gambol of a tumbler, in which he springs up, turns heels over head in the air, and comes down upon his feet.—*Orig.*

† Flimnap is intended for Sir Robert Walpole, from whom Swift at first had some expectations of promotion; when these were disappointed, the dean became the bitter enemy of the minister, and his hatred was aggravated by the zeal with which Walpole persecuted Swift's great favourites, Lord Bolingbroke and Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester. In an epistle to the poet Gay, the dean gives the following bitter description of Walpole:

And first to make my observation right,
I place a statesman full before my sight,
A bloated minister in all his geer,
With shameless visage and perfidious leer;
Two rows of teeth arm each devouring jaw,
And ostrich-like, his all-digesting maw.
My fancy drags this monster to my view,
To show the world his chief reverse in you.
Of loud unmeaning sounds a rapid flood
Rolls from his mouth in plenteous streams of mud;
With these, the court and senate-house he plies
Made up of noise, and impudence, and lies.

And again, alluding to Walpole's continuance in office under George II., and Sir Spencer Compton's refusal to form an administration.

I knew a brazen minister of state,
Who bore for twice ten years the public hate;
In every mouth, the question most in vogue
Was, "*when will they turn out this odious rogue?*"
A juncture happen'd, in his highest pride:
While he went robbing on, old master died

am not partial, the second after the treasurer.* the rest of the great officers are much upon a par.

These diversions are often attended with fatal accidents, whereof great numbers are on record. I myself have seen two or three candidates break a limb. But the danger is much greater when the ministers themselves are commanded to show their dexterity! for by contending to excel themselves and their fellows, they strain so far that there is hardly one of them who has not received a fall, and some of them two or three. I was assured that, a year or two before my arrival, Flimnap would infallibly have broke his neck, if one of the king's cushions, that accidentally lay on the ground, had not weakened the force of his fall.†

There is likewise another diversion, which is only shown before the emperor and empress, and the first minister, upon particular occasions. The emperor lays on the table three fine silken threads of six inches long; one is blue, the other red, and the third green. These threads are proposed as

We thought there now remained no room to doubt;
His work is done, the minister must out.
The court invited more than one or two;
Will you, Sir Spencer? or will you? or you?
But not a soul his office durst accept;
The subtle knave had all the plunder swept;
And such was then the temper of the times;
He owed his preservation to his crimes.
The candidates observed his dirty paws,
Nor found it difficult to guess the cause;
But when they smelt such foul corruptions round him,
Away they fled, and left him as they found him.

* Mr. Secretary Stanhope was most probably intended by Reldresal; he supplanted Walpole in 1717, and adopted a more temperate and conciliatory course towards the Tories and Jacobites, with whom Swift was connected.

† Walpole was compelled to resign his office in 1717, through the intrigues of Lord Sunderland and Mr. Secretary Stanhope, who, following the king to Hanover, sought and found a favourable opportunity of supplanting Walpole and Townshend in the royal favour. After an exclusion of four years, which seemed politically "to have broken his neck," he was restored by his interest with the Duchess of Kendal, the favourite mistress of George I.; and this was "the king's cushion that lay accidentally on the ground, and weakened the force of the fall."

prizes for those persons whom the emperor has a mind to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favour. The ceremony is performed in his majesty's great chamber of state, where the candidates are to undergo a trial of dexterity, very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least resemblance of in any country of the new or old world. The emperor holds a stick in his hands, both ends parallel to the horizon, while the candidates advancing, one by one, sometimes leap over the stick, sometimes creep under it, backward and forward, several times, according as the stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the emperor holds one end of the stick, and the first minister the other; sometimes the minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his part with the most agility, and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping, is rewarded with the blue coloured silk; the red is given to the next, and the green to the third, which they all wear girt twice around about the middle; and you see few great persons about this court who are not adorned with one of these girdles.*

The horses of the army, and those of the royal stables, having been daily led before me, were no longer shy, but would come up to my very feet without starting. The riders would leap them over my hand, as I held it on the ground; and one of the emperor's huntsmen, upon a large courser, took my foot, shoe and all, which was indeed a prodigious leap. I had the good fortune to divert the emperor one day after a very extraordinary manner. I desired he would order several sticks of two feet high, and the thickness of an ordinary cane, to be brought me; whereupon his majesty commanded the master

*The revival of the Order of the Bath by Sir Robert Walpole in 1726, as a cheap means of gratifying his political adherents, was fair game to a satirist like Swift. Walpole was distinguished not only by the Order of the Bath, but by that of the Garter, which was conferred on him in 1726.—*Coxe's Life of Walpole*.

It is scarcely necessary to mention, that blue is the cognizance of the Garter red of the Bath, and green of the Thistle.

of his woods to give directions accordingly; and the next morning six woodmen arrived, with as many carriages, drawn by eight horses to each. I took nine of these sticks, and fixing them firmly in the ground in a quadrangular figure, two feet and a half square, I took four other sticks and tied them parallel at each corner, about two feet from the ground, then I fastened my handkerchief to the nine sticks that stood erect; and extended it on all sides, till it was tight as the top of a drum; and the four parallel sticks, rising about five inches higher than the handkerchief, served as ledges on each side. When I had finished my work, I desired the emperor to let a troop of the best horse, twenty-four in number, come and exercise upon this plain. His majesty approved of the proposal, and I took them up, one by one, in my hands ready mounted and armed, with the proper officer to exercise them. As soon as they got into order, they divided into two parties, performed mock skirmishes, discharged blunt arrows, drew their swords, fled and pursued, attacked and retired, and in short, discovered the best military discipline I ever beheld. The parallel sticks secured them and their horses from falling over the stage; and the emperor was so much delighted, that he ordered this entertainment to be repeated several days, and once was pleased to be lifted up, and give the word of command: and, with great difficulty, persuaded even the empress herself to let me hold her in her close chair within two yards of the stage, when she was able to take a full view of the whole performance. It was my good fortune, that no ill accident happened in these entertainments; only once a fiery horse, that belonged to one of the captains, pawing with his hoof, struck a hole in my handkerchief, and his foot slipping, he overthrew his rider and himself; but I immediately relieved them both, and covering the hole with one hand, I set down the troop with the other, in the same manner as I took them up. The horse that fell was strained in the left shoulder but

the rider got no hurt; and I repaired my handkerchief as well as I could; however, I would not trust to the strength of it any more, in such dangerous enterprises.

About two or three days before I was set at liberty, as I was entertaining the court with this kind of feats, there arrived an express to inform his majesty that some of his subjects, riding near the place where I was first taken up, had seen a great black substance lying on the ground, very oddly shaped, extending its edges round, as wide as his majesty's bed-chamber, and rising up in the middle as high as a man; that it was no living creature, as they at first apprehended, for lay on the grass without motion, and some of them had walked round it several times; that, by mounting upon each other's shoulders, they had got to the top, which was flat and even, and stamping upon it, they found that it was hollow within; that they humbly conceived it might be something belonging to the man-mountain; and if his majesty pleased, they would undertake to bring it with only five horses. I presently knew what they meant, and was glad at heart to receive this intelligence. It seems, upon my first reaching the shore after our shipwreck, I was in such confusion, that before I came to the place where I went to sleep, my hat, which I had fastened with a string to my head while I was rowing, and had stuck on all the time I was swimming, fell off after I came to land; the string, as I conjecture, breaking by some accident, which I never observed, but thought my hat had been lost at sea. I entreated his imperial majesty to give orders that it might be brought to me as soon as possible, describing to him the use and nature of it; and the next day the wagoners arrived with it, but not in a very good condition; they had bored two holes in the brim, within an inch and a half of the edge, and fastened two hooks in the holes; these hooks were tied by a long cord to the harness, and thus my hat was dragged along for above half an English mile

but the ground in that country being extremely smooth and level, it received less damage than I expected.

Two days after this adventure, the emperor, having ordered that part of his army which quarters in and about his metropolis, to be in readiness, took a fancy of diverting himself in a very singular manner. He desired I would stand like a colossus, with my legs as far asunder as I conveniently could. He then commanded his general (who was an old experienced leader, and a great patron of mine) to draw up the troops in close order, and march them under me; the foot by twenty-four abreast, and the horse by sixteen, with drums beating, colours flying, and pikes advanced. This body consisted of three thousand foot, and a thousand horse. His majesty gave orders, upon pain of death, that every soldier in his march should observe the strictest decency with regard to my person; which, however, could not prevent some of the younger officers from turning up their eyes, as they passed under me; and, to confess the truth, my breeches were at that time in so ill a condition, that they afforded some opportunities for laughter and admiration.*

I had sent so many memorials and petitions for my liberty that his majesty at length mentioned the matter, first in the cabinet, and then in a full council; where it was opposed by none, except Skyresh Bolgolam, who was pleased, without any provocation, to be my mortal enemy.† But it was carried against him by the whole board, and confirmed by the emperor. That minister was *galbet*, or admiral of the realm,

* The author probably intends to ridicule the partiality of George I. for reviews and military pageantry. Hogarth's celebrated picture of the "March of the Guards to Finchley," belongs to a much later period, but its satiric touches would probably have been as applicable in the reign of the first as of the second George.

† Skyresh Bolgolam is most probably the Duke of Argyle, who was greatly incensed at Swift's attacks on the Scottish nation, in his "Public Spirit of the Whigs." In an unfinished poem on himself, the Dean alludes to the proclamation offering three hundred pounds for the discovery of the author of this pamphlet, which was issued at the demand rather than the request of the Duke of Argyle he

very much in his master's confidence, and a person well versed in affairs, but of a morose and sour complexion. However, he was at length persuaded to comply; but prevailed that the articles and conditions upon which I should be set free, and to which I must swear, should be drawn up by himself. These articles were brought to me by Skyresh Bolgolam in person, attended by two under-secretaries and several persons of distinction. After they were read, I was demanded to swear to the performance of them; first, in the manner of my own country, and afterwards in the method prescribed by their laws; which was, to hold my right foot in my left hand, and to place the middle finger of my right hand on the crown of my head, and my thumb on the tip of my right ear. But, because the reader may be curious to have some idea of the style and manner of expression peculiar to that people, as well as to know the articles upon which I recovered my liberty, I have made a translation of the whole instrument, word for word as near as I was able, which I here offer to the public.*

GOLBASTO MOMAREM EVLAME GURDILO SHEFIN MULLY
ULLA GUE, most mighty emperor of Lilliput, delight and
conducted all the Scottish lords in a body to demand an audience of the queen, and
ration.

The queen incensed, his services forgot,
Leaves him a victim to the vengeful Scot;
Now through the realm a proclamation spread,
To fix a price on his devoted head,
While, innocent, he scorns ignoble flight;
His watchful friends preserve him by a sleight.

See also the character given of Argyle in Swift's notes on Macky—Appendix to Lilliput I.

* In his description of *Lilliput*, in the following Articles, Gulliver seems to have had *England* more immediately in view. In his description of *Blefuscu*, he seems to intend the people and kingdom of *France*.—*Oratory*.

It is perhaps in order to qualify this parallel that Swift has changed the relative description of the two countries and made Lilliput the continent, Blefuscu the island.—*Sir Walter Scott*.

terror of the universe, whose dominions extend five thousand *blustrugs* (about twelve miles in circumference) to the extremities of the globe; monarch of all monarchs, taller than the sons of men; whose feet press down to the centre, and whose head strikes against the sun; at whose nod the princes of the earth shake their knees; pleasant as the spring, comfortable as the summer, fruitful as autumn, dreadful as winter. His most sublime Majesty proposes to the Man-mountain, lately arrived at our celestial dominions, the following articles, which, by a solemn oath, he shall be obliged to perform:

I. The Man-mountain shall not depart from our dominions, without our license under our great seal.

II. He shall not presume to come into our metropolis without our express order; at which time the inhabitants shall have two hours' warning to keep within doors.

III. The said Man-mountain shall confine his walks to our principal high roads, and not offer to walk or lie down in a meadow or field of corn.

IV. As he walks the said roads, he shall take the utmost care not to trample upon the bodies of any of our loving subjects, their horses or carriages, nor take any of our subjects into his hands without their own consent.

V. If an express requires extraordinary dispatch, the Man-mountain shall be obliged to carry, in his pocket, the messenger and horse a six day's journey once in every moon, and return the said messenger back (if so required) safe to our imperial presence.

VI. He shall be our ally against our enemies in the island of Blefuscu, and do his utmost to destroy their fleet, which is now preparing to invade us.

VII. That the said Man-mountain shall, at his time of leisure, be aiding and assisting to our workmen, in helping to

raise certain great stones, towards covering the wall of the principal park, and other our royal buildings.

VIII. That the said Man-mountain shall in two moons' time, deliver in an exact survey of the circumference of our dominions, by a computation of his own paces round the coast.

Lastly, That, upon his solemn oath to observe all the above articles, the said Man-mountain shall have a daily allowance of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1724 of our subjects, with free access to our royal person, and other marks of our favour. Given at our palace at Belfaborac, the twelfth day of the ninety-first moon of our reign.

I swore and subscribed to these articles with great cheerfulness and content, although some of them were not so honourable as I could have wished; which proceeded wholly from the malice of Skyresh Bolgolam, the high-admiral; whereupon my chains were immediately unlocked, and I was at full liberty. The emperor himself, in person, did me the honour to be by at the whole ceremony. I made my acknowledgments by prostrating myself at his majesty's feet: but he commanded me to rise; and after many gracious expressions, which to avoid the censure of vanity I shall not repeat, he added "that he hoped I should prove a useful servant, and well deserve all the favours he had already conferred upon me, or might do for the future."

The reader may please to observe, that in the last article of the recovery of my liberty, the emperor stipulates to allow me a quantity of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1724 Lilliputians. Some time after, asking a friend at court how they came to fix on that determined number, he told me that his majesty's mathematicians, having taken the height of my body by the help of a quadrant, and finding it to

exceed theirs in the proportion of twelve to one, they concluded from the similarity of their bodies, that mine must contain at least 1724 of theirs, and consequently would require as much food as was necessary to support that number of Lilliputians. By which the reader may conceive an idea of the ingenuity of that people, as well as the prudent and exact economy of so great a prince.

CHAPTER IV.

Mildendo, the metropolis of Lilliput, described, together with the emperor's palace
—A conversation between the author and a principal secretary, concerning the
affairs of that empire—The author offers to serve the emperor in his wars.

LIBERTY having been granted me, my first request was for permission to see Mildendo, the metropolis; which the emperor readily allowed me, but with a special charge to do no hurt either to the inhabitants or their houses. The people had notice, by proclamation, of my design to visit the town. The wall, which encompassed it, is two feet and a half high, and at least eleven inches broad, so that a coach and horses may be driven very safely round it; and it is flanked with strong towers at ten feet distance. I stepped over the great western gate, and passed very gently and sidelong through the two principal streets only in my short waistcoat, for fear of damaging the roofs and eaves of the houses with the skirts of my coat. I walked with the utmost circumspection, to avoid treading on the stragglers who might remain in the streets; although the orders were very strict, that all people should keep in their houses at their own peril. The garret windows and tops of houses were so crowded with spectators, that I thought in all my travels I had not seen a more populous place. The city is an exact square, each side of the wall being five hundred feet long. The two great streets, which run across and divide it into four quarters, are five feet wide. The lanes and alleys, which I could not enter, but only viewed

them as I passed, are from twelve to eighteen inches. The town is capable of holding five hundred thousand souls: the houses are from three to five stories: the shops and markets well provided.

The emperor's palace is in the centre of the city, where the two great streets meet. It is enclosed by a wall of two feet high, and twenty feet distance from the buildings. I had his majesty's permission to step over this wall; and the space being so wide between that and the palace, I could easily view it on every side. The outward court is a square of forty feet, and includes two other courts: in the inmost are the royal apartments, which I was very desirous to see, but found it extremely difficult; for the great gates, from one square into another, were but eighteen inches high, and seven inches wide. Now the buildings of the outer court were at least five feet high, and it was impossible for me to stride over them without infinite damage to the pile, though the walls were strongly built of hewn stone, and four inches thick. At the same time the emperor had a great desire that I should see the magnificence of his palace; but this I was not able to do till three days after, which I spent in cutting down with my knife some of the largest trees in the royal park, about a hundred yards' distance from the city. Of these trees I made two stools, each about three feet high, and strong enough to bear my weight. The people having received notice a second time, I went again through the city to the palace with my two stools in my hands. When I came to the side of the outer court, I stood upon one stool, and took the other in my hand; this I lifted over the roof, and gently set it down on the space between the first and second court, which was eight feet wide. I then stepped over the building very conveniently from one stool to the other, and drew up the first after me with a hooked stick. By this contrivance I got into the inmost court; and, lying down upon my side, I applied my

face to the windows of the middle stories, which were left open on purpose, and discovered the most splendid apartments that can be imagined.

There I saw the empress and the young princes, in their several lodgings, with their chief attendants about them. Her imperial majesty was pleased to smile very graciously upon me, and gave me out of the window her hand to kiss.*

But I shall not anticipate the reader with further descriptions of this kind, because I reserve them for a greater work, which is now almost ready for the press; containing a general description of the empire, from its first erection, through a long series of princes; with a particular account of their wars and politics, laws, learning and religion; their plants and animals; their peculiar manners and customs, with other matters very curious and useful; my chief design at present being only to relate such events and transactions as happened to the public or to myself during a residence of about nine months in that empire.

One morning, about a fortnight after I had obtained my liberty, Reldresal, principal secretary (as they style him) for private affairs, came to my house attended only by one servant. He ordered his coach to wait at a distance, and desired I would give him an hour's audience; which I readily consented to, on account of his quality and personal merits, as well as of the many good offices he had done me during my solicitations at court. I offered to lie down that he might the more conveniently reach my ear, but he chose rather to let me hold him in my hand during our conversation. He began with compliments on my liberty; said "he might pretend to some merit in it;" but however added, "that if it had not been for the present situation of things at court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon. For," said he, "as flour-

* The character of the empress is manifestly taken from that of Queen Anne—good-natured, but easily duped.

ishing condition as we may appear to be in to foreigners, we labour under two mighty evils; a violent faction at home, and the danger of an invasion, by a most potent enemy, from abroad. As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy moons past there have been two struggling parties in this empire, under the names of *Tramecksan* and *Slamecksan*,* from the high and low heels of their shoes, by which they distinguish themselves. It is alleged, indeed, that the high-heels are most agreeable to our ancient constitution; but, however this be, his majesty has determined to make use only of low-heels in the administration of the government, and all offices in the gift of the crown, as you cannot but observe: and particularly that his majesty's imperial heels are lower at least by a *drurr* than any of his court—(*drurr* is a measure about the fourteenth part of an inch). The animosities between these two parties run so high, that they will neither eat nor drink nor talk with each other. We compute the *Tramecksan*, or high-heels, to exceed us in number; but the power is wholly on our side. We apprehend his imperial highness, the heir to the crown, to have some tendency towards the high heels; at least, we can plainly discover that one of his heels is higher than the other, which gives him a hobble in his gait.† Now, in the midst of these intestine dis-

* High-church and Low-church, and Whig or Tory. As every *accidental difference* between man and man in person and circumstances is by this work rendered extremely contemptible; so *speculative differences* are shown to be equally ridiculous, when the zeal with which they are opposed and defended too much exceeds their importance.—*Hawthorne*.

† George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George II., was at this time vehement in his hostility to his father's ministers; like all heirs-apparent since the accession of the house of Brunswick, he chose his political friends among the parties most opposed to the court, calling round him both the discontented whigs and the displeased tories. We learn from a letter of Mrs. Howard, that the prince was greatly amused at this description of his hobbling between the two political parties. On his accession to the throne, which took place shortly after the publication of *Gulliver*, he was easily induced by Queen Caroline to continue Sir Robert Walpole at the head of affairs; an unexpected change, which greatly disappointed Swift and his friends.

quiets, we are threatened with an invasion from the island of Blefuscu, which is the other great empire of the universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his majesty. For as to what we have heard you affirm, that there are other kingdoms and states in the world inhabited by human creatures as large as yourself, our philosophers are in much doubt, and would rather conjecture that you dropped from the moon, or one of the stars; because it is certain that a hundred mortals of your bulk would in a short time destroy all the fruits and cattle of his majesty's dominions: besides, our histories of six thousand moons make no mention of any other regions than the two great empires of Lilliput and Blefuscu. Which two mighty powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate war for six-and-thirty moons past. It began upon the following occasion: it is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking eggs before we eat them, was upon the larger end; but his present majesty's grandfather, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it according to the ancient practice, happened to cut one of his fingers; whereupon the emperor, his father, published an edict, commanding all his subjects, under great penalties, to break the smaller end of their eggs.* The people so highly resented this law, that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on that account; wherein one emperor lost his life,† and another his crown.‡ These civil commotions were constantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu; and when they were quelled, the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire. It is computed that eleven thousand persons have at several times suffered death, rather than submit to break their eggs at the smaller end. Many hundred

* The controversy respecting the sacraments between the Romish and Anglican churches is humourously portrayed in the dispute about the proper end of breaking the egg. The emperor who cut his fingers is manifestly Henry VIII., who was so sadly perplexed by the sacrament of marriage, and the difficulty of divorce.

† Charles I.

‡ James II.

large volumes have been published upon this controversy : but the books of the Big-endians have been long forbidden, and the whole party rendered incapable by law of holding employments. During the course of these troubles, the emperors of Blefuscu did frequently expostulate by their ambassadors, accusing us of making a schism in religion by offending against a fundamental doctrine of our great prophet Lustrog, in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Blundecral, which is their Alcoran. This, however, is thought to be a mere strain upon the text ; for the words are these : that all true believers break their eggs at the convenient end ; and which is the convenient end seems, in my humble opinion, to be left to every man's conscience, or at least in the power of the chief magistrate to determine.*

“ Now the Big-endian exiles have found so much credit in the emperor of Blefuscu's court, and so much private assistance and encouragement from their party here at home, that a bloody war has been carried on between the two empires for six and-thirty moons, with various success ; during which time we have lost forty capital ships, and a much greater number of smaller vessels, together with thirty thousand of our best seamen and soldiers ; and the damage received by the enemy is reckoned to be somewhat greater than ours.† However, they have now equipped a numerous fleet, and are

* Swift appears to intimate that the great point at issue between the Romish and English churches, the sacrament of the eucharist, has been decided too positively by the theologians on both sides ; he intimates that the question of transubstantiation should be left open to the faith of the receiver, in accordance with the memorable lines of Queen Elizabeth.

Christ was the word that spake it
He took the bread, and brake it,
And what that word did make it
That I believe and take it.

† This description of the Big-endian war is designed for the wars of the revolution, which were terminated by the peace of Utrecht, and the enumeration of the losses and slaughter occasioned by the war is intended to vindicate Harley and Bolingbroke for bringing it to a conclusion

just preparing to make a descent upon us; and his imperial majesty, placing great confidence in your valour and strength, has commanded me to lay this account of his affairs before you."

I desired the secretary to present my humble duty to the emperor; and let him know, "that I thought it would not become me, who was a foreigner, to interfere with parties; but I was ready, with the hazard of my life, to defend his person and state against all invaders."*

* Gulliver, without examining the subject of dispute, readily engaged to defend the emperor against invasion; because he knew that no such monarch had a right to invade the dominions of another, for the propagation of truth.—*Hawthorne*.

CHAPTER V.

The author, by an extraordinary stratagem, prevents an invasion—A high title of honour is conferred upon him—Ambassadors arrive from the Emperor of Blefuscu, and sue for peace—The Empress's apartments on fire by accident; the author instrumental in saving the rest of the palace.

LILLIPUT is part of the continent, but the empire of Blefuscu is an island situated to the north-east of the mainland, from which it is parted only by a channel of eight hundred yards wide. I had not yet seen it, and upon this notice of an intended invasion, I avoided appearing on that side of the coast, for fear of being discovered by some of the enemy's ships, who had received no intelligence of me; all intercourse between the two empires having been strictly forbidden during the war upon pain of death, and an embargo laid by our emperor upon all vessels whatsoever. I communicated to his majestic a project I had formed of seizing the enemy's whole fleet; which, as our scouts assured us, lay at anchor in the harbour, ready to sail with the first fair wind. I consulted the most experienced seamen upon the depth of the channel, which they had often plumbed; who told me, that in the middle, at high water, it was seventy *glumgluffs* deep, which is about six feet of European measure; and the rest of it fifty *glumgluffs* at most. I walked towards the north-east coast, over against Blefuscu; where, lying down behind a hillock, I took out my small perspective glass and viewed the enemy's fleet at anchor, consisting of about fifty men-of-war, and a great number of transports: I then came

back to my house, and gave orders (for which I had a warrant,) for a great quantity of the strongest cable and bars of iron. The cable was about as thick as packthread, and the bars of a length and size of a knitting-needle. I trebled the cable to make it stronger, and for the same reason, I twisted three of the iron bars together, bending the extremities into a hook. Having thus fixed fifty hooks to as many cables, I went back to the north-east coast, and putting off my coat, shoes and stockings, walked into the sea in my leathern jerkin, about half an hour before high water. I waded with what haste I could, and swam in the middle about thirty yards, till I felt ground. I arrived at the fleet in less than half an hour. The enemy was so frightened when they saw me, that they leaped out of their ships, and swam to shore, where there could not be fewer than thirty thousand souls: I then took my tackling, and fastening a hook to the hole at the prow of each, I tied all the cords together at the end. While I was thus employed, the enemy discharged several thousand arrows, many of which stuck in my hands and face; and, besides the excessive smart, gave me much disturbance in my work. My greatest apprehension was for mine eyes, which I should have infallibly lost, if I had not suddenly thought of an expedient. I kept, among other little necessities, a pair of spectacles in a private pocket, which, as I observed before, had escaped the emperor's searchers. These I took out and fastened as strongly as I could upon my nose, and thus armed, went on boldly with my work, in spite of the enemy's arrows, many of which struck against the glasses of my spectacles, but without any other effect, farther than a little to discompose them. I had now fastened all the hooks, and taking the knot in my hand, began to pull; but not a ship would stir, for they were all too fast held by their anchors, so that the boldest part of my enterprise remained. I therefore let go the cord, and leaving the hooks fixed to the ships, I resolutely

cut with my knife the cables that fastened the anchors, receiving about two hundred arrows in my face and hands; then I took up the knotted end of the cables, to which my hooks were tied, and with great ease drew fifty of the enemy's largest men-of-war after me.

The Blefuscudians, who had not the least imagination of what I intended, were at first confounded with astonishment. They had seen me cut the cables, and thought my design was only to let the ships run adrift, or fall foul on each other; but when they perceived the whole fleet moving in order, and saw me pulling at the end, they set up such a scream of grief and despair as it is almost impossible to describe or conceive.* When I had got out of danger, I stopped awhile to pick out the arrows that stuck in my hands and face; and rubbed on some of the same ointment that was given me on my first arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my spectacles, and waiting about an hour till the tide was a little fallen, I waded through the middle with my cargo, and arrived safe at the royal port of Lilliput.

The emperor and his whole court stood on the shore, expecting the issue of this great adventure. They saw the ships move forward in a large half-moon, but could not discern me, who was up to my breast in water. When I advanced to the middle of the channel, they were yet more in pain, because I was under water to my neck. The emperor concluded me to be drowned, and that the enemy's fleet was approaching in a hostile manner; but he was soon eased of his fears; for the channel growing shallower every step I made, I came in a short time within hearing, and holding up the end of the cable, by which the fleet was fastened, I cried, in

*The capture of the Blefuscudian fleet is intended to represent the efforts made by the tory ministry to secure the naval supremacy of England in the negotiations at Utrecht, and particularly their success in procuring the demolition of Dunkirk and the cession of several French colonies.

a loud voice, "Long live the most puissant king of Lilliput!" This great prince received me at my landing with all possible encomiums, and created me a *nardac* upon the spot, which is the highest title of honour among them.*

His majesty desired I would take some other opportunity of bringing all the rest of his enemy's ships into his ports. And so unmeasurable is the ambition of princes, that he seemed to think of nothing less than reducing the whole empire of Blefuscu into a province, and governing it by a viceroy; of destroying the Big-endian exiles, and compelling that people to break the smaller end of their eggs, by which he would remain the sole monarch of the whole world. But I endeavoured to divert him from this design, by many arguments drawn from the topics of policy as well as justice; and

*The treaty at Utrecht was at first very popular with the English people; and it was regarded by Queen Anne as a blessing to England and to Europe. The promised demolition of Dunkirk, and its surrender as a guarantee to General Hill, were regarded not only by the court, but by the nation, as an advantage scarcely inferior to what the capture of the Blefuscuian fleet would have been to the emperor of Lilliput. Swift wrote a song on the event, which was very popular. The following are the concluding stanzas:—

Our merchant ships may cut the line,
And not be snapt by privateers;
And commoners who love good wine,
Will drink it now as well as peers;
Landed men shall have their rent,
Yet our stocks rise cent. per cent.;
The Dutch from hence shall no more millions drain:
We'll bring on us no more debts,
Nor with bankrupts fill gazettes;
And the queen shall enjoy her own again.

The towns we took ne'er did us good:
What signified the French to beat?
We spent our money and our blood
To make the Dutchmen proud and great:
But the lord of Oxford swears
Dunkirk never shall be theirs;
The Dutch-hearted whigs may rail and complain;
But true Englishmen may fill
A health to General Hill,
For the queen now enjoys her own again.

I plainly protested, "that I would never be an instrument of bringing a free and brave people into slavery;" and when the matter was debated in council, the wisest part of the ministry were of my opinion.*

This open, bold declaration of mine, was so opposite to the schemes and politics of his imperial majesty, that he could never forgive me. He mentioned it in a very artful manner at council, where I was told that some of the wisest appeared at least, by their silence, to be of my opinion; but others, who were my secret enemies, could not forbear some expressions which by a side-wind reflected on me; and from this time began an intrigue between his majesty, and a junto of ministers, maliciously bent against me, which broke out in less than two months, and had like to have ended in my utter destruction. Of so little weight are the greatest services to princes, when put into the balance with a refusal to gratify their passions.

About three weeks after this exploit, there arrived a solemn embassy from Blefuscu, with humble offers of a peace; which was soon concluded, upon conditions very advantageous to our emperor, wherewith I shall not trouble the reader. There were six ambassadors with a train of about five hundred persons: and their entry was very magnificent, suitable to the grandeur of their master, and the importance of their business. When their treaty was finished, wherein I did them several good offices by the credit I now had, or at least appeared to have, at court, their excellencies, who were privately told how

* The conquest of France was seriously believed feasible by many friends of the Duke of Marlborough; but when the siege of such a petty fortress as Bouchain occupied the greater part of one campaign, the best English statesmen saw there was little chance of such a consummation. Mesnager, if the memoirs published in his name be not a forgery, declares that the Tories used to annoy the Whigs by asking "How long will it take to conquer France at the rate of a Bouchain per summer?" In the debates on the treaty of Utrecht (A. D. 1713), the advocates for peace had decidedly the best of the argument, so that Gulliver is justified in saying that "the wisest were of his opinion."

much I had been their friend, made me a visit in form. They began with many compliments upon my valour and generosity, invited me to that kingdom in the emperor their master's name, and desired me to show them some proofs of my prodigious strength, of which they had heard so many wonders; wherein I readily obliged them, but shall not trouble the reader with the particulars.

When I had for some time entertained their excellencies, to their infinite satisfaction and surprise, I desired they would do me the honour to present my most humble respects to the emperor their master, the renown of whose virtues had so justly filled the whole world with admiration, and whose royal person I resolved to attend before I returned to my own country. Accordingly, the next time I had the honour to see our emperor, I desired his general license to wait on the Blefusudian monarch, which he was pleased to grant me, as I could perceive, in a very cold manner; but could not guess the reason, till I had a whisper from a certain person, "that Flimnap and Bolgolam had represented my intercourse with those ambassadors as a mark of disaffection;" from which I am sure my heart was wholly free. And this was the first time I began to conceive some imperfect idea of courts and ministers.*

It is to be observed, that these ambassadors spoke to me by an interpreter, the languages of both empires differing as much from each other as any two in Europe, and each nation priding itself upon the antiquity, beauty, and energy of their own tongue, with an avowed contempt for that of their

* The charge raised against Gulliver for his innocent intercourse with the ambassadors from Blefuscu alludes to the chief accusation brought against Bolingbroke (A. D. 1715), which was his treasonable intimacy with the French ministers during the negotiations of the peace at Utrecht. Bolingbroke's journey to France to negotiate a separate peace, and his clandestine intercourse with the agents of Louis, were, however, of such a suspicious nature, that he did not think it prudent to wait for his trial.

neighbour: yet our emperor, standing upon the advantage he had got by the seizure of their fleet, obliged them to deliver their credentials, and make their speech, in the Lilliputian tongue. And it must be confessed, that from the great intercourse of trade and commerce between both realms, from the continual reception of exiles which is mutual among them, and from the custom, in each empire, to send their young nobility and richer gentry to the other, in order to polish themselves by seeing the world, and understanding men and manners; there are few persons of distinction, or merchants, or seamen, who dwell in the maritime parts, but what can hold conversation in both tongues; as I found some weeks after, when I went to pay my respects to the emperor of Blefuscu, which, in the midst of great misfortunes, through the malice of my enemies, proved a very happy adventure to me, as I shall relate in its proper place.

The reader may remember, that when I signed those articles upon which I recovered my liberty, there were some which I disliked, upon account of their being too servile; neither could any thing but an extreme necessity have forced me to submit. But being now a *nardac* of the highest rank in that empire, such offices were looked upon as below my dignity, and the emperor (to do him justice) never once mentioned them to me. However, it was not long before I had an opportunity of doing his majesty, at least as I then thought, a most signal service. I was alarmed at midnight with the cries of many hundred people at my door; by which, being suddenly awaked, I was in some kind of terror. I heard the word *burglum* repeated incessantly: several of the emperor's court making their way through the crowd, entreated me to come immediately to the palace where her imperial majesty's apartment was on fire, by the carelessness of a maid of honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a romance. I got up in an instant; and orders being given to clear the way before

me, and it being likewise a moonshine night, I made a shift to get to the palace without trampling on any of the people. I found they had already applied ladders to the walls of the apartment, and were well provided with buckets, but the water was at some distance. These buckets were about the size of a large thimble, and the poor people supplied me with them as fast as they could; but the flame was so violent that they did little good. I might easily have stifled it with my coat, which I unfortunately left behind me for haste, and came away only in my leathern jerkin. The case seemed wholly desperate and deplorable; and this magnificent palace would have infallibly been burnt down to the ground, if, by a presence of mind unusual to me, I had not suddenly thought of an expedient. I had the evening before drunk plentifully of a most delicious wine called *glimigrim* (the Blefuscudians call it *flunec*), but ours is esteemed the better sort, which is very diuretic. By the luckiest chance in the world, I had not discharged myself of any part of it. The heat I had contracted by coming very near the flames, and by labouring to quench them, made the wine begin to operate by urine which I voided in such a quantity, and applied so well to the proper places, that in three minutes the fire was wholly extinguished, and the rest of that noble pile, which had cost so many ages in erecting, preserved from destruction.

It was now daylight, and I had returned to my house without waiting to congratulate the emperor; because although I had done a very eminent piece of service, yet I could not tell how his majesty might resent the manner by which I had performed it: for by the fundamental laws of the realm, it is capital in any person, of what quality soever, to make water within the precincts of the palace. But I was a little comforted by a message from his majesty, "that he would give orders to the grand justiciary for passing my pardon in form;" which however, I could not obtain; and I

was privately assured, that the empress, conceiving the greatest abhorrence of what I had done, removed to the most distant side of the court, firmly resolved that those buildings should never be repaired for her use ; and, in the presence of her chief confidants, could not forbear vowing revenge.*

* Swift, in this description of the empress's hostility on account of his indecency, and her forgetfulness of the essential service which he had rendered, alludes to the prejudices of Queen Anne, who was more indignant at the immorality of his writings than grateful for his support to her favourite ministry. The Queen had actually nominated Swift to an English Bishopric, when Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, went to the Queen, showed her the "Tale of a Tub," and declared that the author of such a work could not be made a prelate without bringing disgrace on the church. Hence Swift, in the lines on himself, complains that he is

By an old ————pursued,
A crazy prelate and a royal prude.

And again,

York is from Lambeth sent to show the queen
A dangerous treatise writ against the spleen,
Which, by the style, the matter, and the drift,
'Tis thought could be the work of none but Swift.

The Archbishop was eagerly seconded by the Duchess of Somerset, whom Swift had bitterly lampooned. The Queen could never afterwards be persuaded to revoke her determination, and Swift thenceforth always spoke of her in terms of contempt.

CHAPTER VI.*

Of the inhabitants of Lilliput; their learning, laws, and customs; the manner of educating their children—The author's way of living in that country—His vindication of a great lady.

QUARRELS and intrigues are so common in courts, that I need not dwell on the calumnies devised by the envious to prejudice the mind of the empress still further against me, and I shall therefore turn to a different subject. Although I intend to leave the description of this empire to a particular treatise, yet, in the mean time, I am content to gratify the curious reader with some general ideas. As the common size of the natives is somewhat under six inches high, so there is an exact proportion in all other animals, as well as plants and trees; for instance, the tallest horses and oxen are between four and five inches in height, the sheep an inch and a half, more or less; their geese about the bigness of a sparrow, and so the several gradations downwards, till you come to the smallest, which, to my sight were almost invisible; but nature has adapted the eyes of the Lilliputians to all objects proper for their view; they see with great exactness, but at no great

*In a German critique on Gulliver's Travels, this chapter has been rather severely censured, because the author has neglected to give any particulars of the Lilliputian climate and its effects; a source from which the review avers, that many circumstances might have been deduced which would give an additional plausibility to the narrative. It must be observed, however, in Swift's justification, that this neglect of observing climate and its peculiarities is common to all the early narratives of voyagers, and also that for the purposes of his satire it was necessary to identify the Lilliputian climate with that of England.

distance. And to show the sharpness of their sight towards objects that are near, I have been much pleased with a cook pulling a lark, which was not so large as a common fly; and a young girl threading an invisible needle with invisible silk.

Their tallest trees are about seven feet high, I mean some of those in the great royal park, the tops whereof I could but just reach with my fist clenched. The other vegetables are in the same proportion; but this I leave to the reader's imagination.

I shall say but little at present of their learning, which for many ages has flourished in all its branches among them; but their manner of writing is very peculiar, being neither from the left to the right like the Europeans;

Inimitable, Incomparable.

nor from the right to the left like the Arabians;

حجج لصشص شجلق ننخذ حكس ليجتكد

nor from up to down, like the Chinese;

草	天
才	風
功	律
史	子

but aslant, from one corner of the paper to the other, like ladies in England.

They bury their dead with their heads directly downward, because they hold an opinion that in eleven thousand moons they are all to rise again; in which period the earth (which they conceive to be flat) will turn upside down, and by this means they shall, at their resurrection, be found ready stand-

ing on their feet. The learned among them confess the absurdity of this doctrine; but the practice still continues, in compliance to the vulgar.

There are some laws and customs in this empire very peculiar; and if they were not so directly contrary to those of my own dear country, I should be tempted to say a little in their justification. It is only to be wished they were as well executed. The first I shall mention, relates to informers. All crimes against the state are punished here with the utmost severity; but if the person accused makes his innocence plainly to appear upon his trial, the accuser is immediately put to an ignominious death; and out of his goods or lands the innocent person is quadruply recompensed for the loss of his time, for the danger he underwent, for the hardship of his imprisonment, and for all the charges he has been at in making his defence; or, if that fund be deficient, it is largely supplied by the crown. The emperor also confers on him some public mark of his favour, and proclamation is made of his innocence through the whole city.

They look upon fraud as a greater crime than theft, and therefore seldom fail to punish it with death; for they allege, that care and vigilance, with a very common understanding, may preserve a man's goods from thieves, but honesty has no fence against superior cunning; and since it is necessary that there should be a perpetual intercourse of buying and selling, and dealing upon credit, where fraud is permitted and connived at, or has no law to punish it, the honest dealer is always undone, and the knave gets the advantage. I remember, when I was once interceding with the king for a criminal who had wronged his master of a great sum of money, which he received by order, and ran away with; and happening to tell his majesty by way of extenuation, that it was only a breach of trust, the emperor thought it monstrous in me to offer as a defence the greatest aggravation of the crime; and

truly I had little to say in return, farther than the common answer, that different nations had different customs; for, I confess I was heartily ashamed.*

Although we call rewards and punishments the two hinges upon which all government turns, yet I could never observe this maxim to be put in practice by any nation except that of Lilliput. Whoever can there bring sufficient proof that he has strictly observed the laws of his country for seventy-three moons, has a claim to certain privileges, according to his quality and condition of life, with a proportionable sum of money out of a fund appropriated for that use; he likewise acquires the title of *snilpall*, or legal, which is added to his name, but does not descend to his posterity. And these people thought it a prodigious defect of policy among us when I told them that our laws were enforced only by penalties, without any mention of reward. It is upon this account that the image of Justice, in their courts of judicature, is formed with six eyes, two before, as many behind, and on each side one, to signify circumspection; with a bag of gold open in her right hand, and a sword sheathed in her left, to show that she is more disposed to reward than to punish.

In choosing persons for all employments, they have more regard to good morals than to great abilities; for since government is necessary to mankind, they believe that the common size of human understanding is suited to some station or other; and that Providence never intended to make the management of public affairs a mystery to be comprehended only by a few persons of sublime genius, of which there seldom are three born in an age: but they suppose truth, justice, temperance, and the like, to be in every man's power; the practice of which virtues, assisted by experience and a good intention, would qualify any man for the service of his country, except where

* An act of parliament has since been passed, by which some breaches of trust have been made capital—*Orig.*

a course of study is required. But they thought the want of moral virtues was so far from being supplied by superior endowments of the mind, that employments could never be put into such dangerous hands as those of persons so qualified; and at least, that the mistakes committed by ignorance, in a virtuous disposition, would never be of such fatal consequence to the public weal, as the practices of a man whose inclinations led him to be corrupt, and who had great abilities to manage, to multiply and defend his corruptions.

In like manner the disbelief of a Divine Providence renders a man incapable of holding any public station; for since kings avow themselves to be the deputies of Providence, the Lilliputians think nothing can be more absurd than for a prince to employ such men as disown the authority under which he acts.

In relating these and the following laws, I would only be understood to mean the original institutions, and not the most scandalous corruptions, into which these people are fallen by the degenerate nature of man. For, as to that infamous practice of acquiring great employments by dancing on ropes, or badges of favour and distinction by leaping sticks and creeping under them, the reader is to observe that they were first introduced by the grandfather of the emperor now reigning, and grew to the present height by the gradual increase of party and faction.*

Ingratitude is among them a capital crime, as we read it to have been so in some other countries: for they reason thus; that whoever makes ill returns to his benefactor, must needs be a common enemy to the rest of mankind, from whom he has received no obligation, and therefore such a man is not fit to live.

Their notions relating to the duties of parents and children

* The author alludes to the prostitution of honours, and the lavish distribution of titles, in the reign of James I.

differ extremely from ours. For since the conjunction of male and female is founded upon the great law of nature, in order to propagate and continue the species, the Lilliputians will needs have it, that men and women are joined together like other animals, by the motives of concupiscence ; and that their tenderness towards their young proceeds from the like natural principle ; for which reason they will never allow that a child is under any obligation to his father for begetting him, or to his mother for bringing him into the world ; which, considering the miseries of human life, was neither a benefit in itself, nor intended so by his parents, whose thoughts in their love encounters, were otherwise employed.* Upon these, and the like reasonings, their opinion is, that parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the education of their own children ; and therefore they have in every town public nurseries, where all parents, except cottagers and labourers, are obliged to send their infants of both sexes to be reared and educated, when they come to the age of twenty moons, at which time they are supposed to have some rudiments of docility. These schools are of several kinds, suited to different qualities, and both sexes. They have certain professors well skilled for preparing children for such a condition of life as befits the ranks of their parents, and their own capacities, as well as inclinations. I shall first say something of the male nurseries and then of the female.

The nurseries for males of noble or eminent birth are provided with grave and learned professors, and their several deputies. The clothes and food of the children are plain and simple. They are bred up in the principles of honour, justice, courage, modesty, clemency, religion, and love of their country ; they are always employed in some business, except

* Sir Walter Scott is of opinion that this idea is borrowed from Cyrano Bergerac's *Voyage to the Moon*, where he finds a people with whom it was the rule that parents should obey their children.

in the times of eating and sleeping, which are very short, and two hours for diversions, consisting of bodily exercises. They are dressed by men till four years of age, and then are obliged to dress themselves, although their quality be ever so great; and the women attendants, who are aged proportionably to ours at fifty, perform only the most menial offices. They are never suffered to converse with servants, but go together in smaller or greater numbers, to take their diversions, and always in the presence of a professor, or one of his deputies; whereby they avoid those early bad impressions of folly and vice, to which our children are subject. Their parents are suffered to see them twice only a year; the visit is to last but an hour; they are allowed to kiss the child at meeting and parting; but a professor who always stands by on those occasions, will not suffer them to whisper, or use any fondling expressions, or bring any presents of toys, sweetmeats, and the like.

The pension for each family for the education and entertainment of a child, upon failure of due payment, is levied by the emperor's officers.

The nurseries for children of ordinary gentlemen, merchants, traders, and handicrafts, are managed proportionably after the same manner; only those designed for trades are put out apprentices at eleven years old: whereas those of persons of quality continue in their exercises till fifteen, which answers to twenty-one with us; but the confinement is gradually lessened for the last three years.

In the female nurseries, the young girls of quality are educated much like the males, only they are dressed by orderly servants of their own sex; but always in the presence of a professor or deputy, till they come to dress themselves, which is at five years old. And if it be found that these nurses ever presume to entertain the girls with frightful or foolish stories, or the common follies practised by chambermaids among us, they are publicly whipped thrice about the

city, imprisoned for a year, and banished for life to the most desolate part of the country. Thus the young ladies there are as much ashamed of being cowards and fools as the men, and despise all personal ornaments, beyond decency and cleanliness: neither did I perceive any difference in their education made by their difference of sex, only that the exercises of the females were not altogether so robust; and that some rules were given them relating to domestic life, and a smaller compass of learning was enjoined them; for their maxim is, that among people of quality, a wife should be always a reasonable and agreeable companion, because she cannot be always young. When the girls are twelve years old, which among them is the marriageable age, their parents or guardians take them home, with great expressions of gratitude to the professors, and seldom without the tears of the young lady and her companions.

In the nurseries of the females of the meaner sort, the children are instructed in all kinds of work proper for their sex, and their several degrees; those intended for apprentices are dismissed at seven years old, the rest are kept until eleven.

The meaner families who have children at these nurseries are obliged, beside their annual pension, which is as low as possible, to return to the steward of the nursery a small monthly share of their gettings, to be a portion for the child; and therefore all parents are limited in their expenses by the law. For the Lilliputians think that nothing can be more unjust, than for people, in subservience to their own appetites, to bring children into the world, and leave the burden of supporting them upon the public. As to persons of quality, they give security to appropriate a certain sum for each child, suitable to their condition: and these funds are always managed with good husbandry and the most exact justice.

The cottagers and labourers keep their children at home, their business being only to till and cultivate the earth, and

therefore their education is of little consequence to the public: but the old and diseased among them are supported by hospitals; for begging is a trade unknown in this empire.

And here it may, perhaps, divert the curious reader, to give some account of my domestics, and my manner of living in this country, during a residence of nine months and thirteen days. Having a head mechanically turned, and being likewise forced by necessity, I had made for myself a table and chair convenient enough, out of the largest trees in the royal park. Two hundred sempstresses were employed to make me shirts and linen for my bed and table, all of the strongest and coarsest kind they could get, which, however, they were forced to quilt together in several folds, for the thickest was some degrees finer than lawn. Their linen is usually three inches wide, and three feet make a piece. The sempstresses took my measure as I lay on the ground, one standing at my neck, and another at my mid-leg, with a strong cord extended, that each held by the end, while a third measured the length of the cord with a rule of an inch long. Then they measured my right thumb, and desired no more; for by a mathematical computation, that twice round the thumb is once round the wrist, and so on to the neck and the waist, and by the help of my old shirt, which I displayed on the ground before them for a pattern; they fitted me exactly. Three hundred tailors were employed in the same manner to make me clothes; but they had another contrivance for taking my measure. I kneeled down, and they raised a ladder from the ground to my neck: upon this ladder one of them mounted, and let fall a plumb-line from my collar to the floor, which just answered the length of my coat; but my waist and arms I measured myself. When my clothes were finished, which was done in my house (for the largest of theirs would not have been able to hold them) they looked like the patchwork

made by the ladies in England, only that mine were all of a colour.

I had three hundred cooks to dress my victuals, in little convenient huts built about my house, where they and their families lived, and prepared me two dishes a-piece. I took up twenty waiters in my hand, and placed them on the table; a hundred more attended below on the ground, some with dishes of meat and some with barrels of wine and other liquors slung on their shoulders, all which the waiters above drew up, as I wanted, in a very ingenious manner, by certain cords, as we draw the bucket up a well in Europe. A dish of their meat was a good mouthful, and a barrel of their liquor a reasonable draught. Their mutton yields to ours, but their beef is excellent. I have had a surloin so large, that I have been forced to make three bites of it; but this is rare. My servants were astonished to see me eat it, bones and all, as in our country we do the leg of a lark. Their geese and turkeys I usually ate at a mouthful, and I confess they far exceed ours. Of their smaller fowl, I could take up twenty or thirty at the end of my knife.

One day his imperial majesty, being informed of my way of living, desired "that himself and his royal consort, with the young princes of the blood of both sexes, might have the happiness," as he was pleased to call it, "of dining with me." They came accordingly, and I placed them in chairs of state upon my table, just over against me, with their guards about them. Flimnap, the lord high-treasurer, attended there likewise, with his white staff; and I observed he often looked on me with a sour countenance, which I would not seem to regard, but ate more than usual, in honour of my dear country, as well as to fill the court with admiration. I have some private reasons to believe, that this visit from his majesty gave Flimnap an opportunity of doing me ill offices to his master. That minister had always been my secret enemy, though he

outwardly caressed me more than was usual to the moroseness of his nature. He represented to the emperor "the low condition of his treasury; that he was forced to take up money at a great discount; that exchequer bills would not circulate under nine per cent. below par; that I had cost his majesty above a million and a half of *sprugs* (their greatest gold coin, about the bigness of a spangle); and upon the whole, that it would be advisable to the emperor to take the first fair occasion of dismissing me."*

I am here obliged to vindicate the reputation of an excellent lady, who was an innocent sufferer on my account. The treasurer took a fancy to be jealous of his wife, from the malice of some evil tongues, who informed him that her Grace had taken a violent affection for my person; and the court scandal ran for some time, that she once came privately to my lodging. This I solemnly declare to be a most infamous falsehood, without any grounds, farther than that her Grace was pleased to treat me with all innocent marks of freedom and friendship. I own she came often to my house, but always publicly, nor ever without three more in the coach, who were usually her sister and young daughter, and some particular acquaintance; but this was common to many other ladies of the court; and I still appeal to my servants round whether they at any time saw a coach at my door without knowing what persons were in it. On those occasions, when a servant had given me notice, my custom was to go immediately to the door; and after paying my respects, to take up the coach and two horses very carefully in my hands (for, if there were six horses, the postillion always unharnessed four), and place them on a table, where I had fixed a moveable rim quite round, of five inches high, to prevent accidents; and I have often had four coaches and horses at once on my table,

* Sir Robert Walpole was often reproached with false economy,—no uncommon topic of railing against the whigs. The parsimonious disposition of George I. has been already noticed.

full of company, while I sat in my chair, leaning my face towards them; and when I was engaged with one set, the coachmen would gently drive the others round my table. I have passed many an afternoon very agreeably in these conversations. But I defy the treasurer, or his two informers (I will name them, and let them make the best of it), Clustril and Drunlo, to prove that any person ever came to me *incognito*, except the secretary Reldresal, who was sent by express command of his imperial majesty, as I have before related. I should not have dwelt so long on this particular, if it had not been a point wherein the reputation of a great lady is so nearly concerned,* to say nothing of my own; though I then had the honour to be a *nardac*, which the treasurer himself is not; for all the world knows he is only a *glumglum*, a title inferior by one degree, as that of a marquis is to a duke in England; yet I allow he preceded me in right of his post. These false informations, which I afterwards came to the knowledge of by an incident not proper to mention, made the treasurer show his lady for some time an ill countenance, and me a worse; and although he was at last undeceived and reconciled to her, yet I lost all credit with him, and found my interest decline very fast with the emperor himself, who was, indeed, too much governed by that favourite.

* The Dean probably alludes to the inquiries made into Bolingbroke's intrigues by the Committee, 1715, and particularly that which he was suspected of having formed with Madame Tencin. There are few passages in this work which can compete for grave and quiet humour with Gulliver's earnest defence of the lady's character.

CHAPTER VI.

The author being informed of a design to accuse him of high treason, makes his escape to Blefuscu—His reception there.

AN account of my leaving this kingdom may properly be prefaced by some particulars of a private intrigue which had been for two months forming against me. I had been hitherto, all my life, a stranger to courts, for which I was unqualified by the meanness of my condition. I had indeed heard and read enough of the dispositions of great princes and ministers; but never expected to have found such terrible effects of them in so remote a country, governed, as I thought, by very different maxims from those in Europe.

When I was just preparing to pay my attendance on the emperor of Blefuscu, a considerable person at court (to whom I had been very serviceable, at a time when he lay under the highest displeasure of his imperial majesty), came to my house very privately at night, in a close chair, and, without sending his name, desired admittance. The chairmen were dismissed; I put the chair, with his lordship in it, into my coat-pocket; and giving orders to a trusty servant, to say I was indisposed and gone to sleep, I fastened the door of my house, placed the chair on the table, according to my usual custom, and sat down by it. After the common salutations were over, observing his lordship's countenance full of concern, and inquiring into the reason, he desired "I would hear him with patience, in a matter that highly concerned me

honour and my life." His speech was to the following effect, for I took notes of it as soon as he left me :—

"You are to know," said he, "that several committees of council have been lately called, in the most private manner, on your account; and it is but two days since his majesty came to a full resolution.

"You are very sensible that Skyresh Bolgolam (*galbet*, or high admiral), has been your mortal enemy, almost ever since your arrival. His original reasons I know not; but his hatred is increased since your great success against Blefuscu, by which his glory as admiral is much obscured. This lord, in conjunction with Flimnap, the high treasurer, whose enmity against you is notorious on account of his lady, Limtoc the general, Lalcon the chamberlain, and Balmuff the grand justiciary, have prepared articles of impeachment against you, for treason and other capital crimes."

This preface made me so impatient, being conscious of my own merit and innocence, that I was going to interrupt him; when he entreated me to be silent, and thus proceeded.

"Out of gratitude for the favors you have done me, I procured information of the whole proceedings, and a copy of the articles; * wherein I venture my head for your service.

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT

AGAINST

QUINBUS FLESTRIN, THE MAN-MOUNTAIN.

ART. I.

WHEREAS, by a statute made in the reign of his imperial majesty Calin Deffar Plune, it is enacted, that whosoever shall make water within the precincts of the royal palace, shall

* These articles are designed to ridicule the articles of impeachment against Oxford, Ormond, and Bolingbroke, in 1715.

be liable to the pains and penalties of high-treason; notwithstanding, the said Quinbus Flestrin, in open breach of the said law, under colour of extinguishing the fire kindled in the apartment of his majesty's most dear imperial consort, did maliciously, traitorously, and devilishly, by discharge of his urine, put out the said fire kindled in the said apartment, lying and being within the precincts of the said royal palace, against the statute in that case provided, etc., against the duty, etc.

ART. II.

* 'That the said Quinbus Flestrin having brought the imperial fleet of Blefuscu into the royal port, and being afterwards commanded by his imperial majesty to seize all other ships of the said empire of Blefuscu, and reduce that empire to a province, to be governed by a viceroy from hence, and to destroy and put to death not only all the Big-endian exiles, but likewise all the people of that empire who would not immediately forsake the Big-endian heresy; he, the said Flestrin, like a false traitor against his most auspicious, serene, imperial majesty, did petition to be excused from the said service, upon pretence of unwillingness to force the consciences, or destroy the liberties and lives of an innocent people.†'

* There are many who believed that in consequence of the numerous victories obtained by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, it would have been possible for the Allies to have marched to Paris, and compelled Louis XIV. to purchase peace by the sacrifice of a large portion of his dominion. Swift so far yields to popular prejudice as not to contest the possibility of such an exploit (here typified by the complete conquest of Blefuscu); he takes the higher ground of national justice, and insinuates that if the Allies had violated the integrity of France, they would have been guilty of the very crime which furnished a pretext for their inveterate hostility to Louis XIV. The frivolous and vexatious character of some of the articles of Gulliver's impeachment is scarcely an exaggeration of the trivial nature of many of the charges brought against Queen Anne's last cabinet by the Walpole administration.

† A lawyer thinks himself honest, if he does the best he can for his client; and a statesman, if he promotes the interests of his country: but the Dean here inculcates a higher notion of right and wrong, and obligations to a larger community.—*Hacksworth.*

ART. III.

‘That whereas certain ambassadors arrived from the court of Blefuscu, to sue for peace in his majesty’s court; he, the said Flestrin, did, like a false traitor, aid, abet, comfort, and divert the said ambassadors, although he knew them to be servants of a prince who was lately an open enemy to his imperial majesty, and in an open war against his said majesty.

ART. IV.

‘That the said Quinbus Flestrin, contrary to the duty of a faithful subject, is now preparing to make a voyage to the court and empire of Blefuscu, for which he has received only verbal license from his imperial majesty, and under colour of the said license, does falsely and traitorously intend to take the said voyage, and thereby to aid, comfort, and abet the emperor of Blefuscu, so lately an enemy, and in open war with his imperial majesty aforesaid.’

“There are some other articles; but these are the most important, of which I have read you an abstract.

“In the several debates upon this impeachment, it must be confessed that his majesty gave many marks of his great lenity; often urging the services you had done him, and endeavouring to extenuate your crimes. The treasurer and admiral insisted that you should be put to the most painful and ignominious death, by setting fire to your house at night; and the general was to attend with twenty thousand men, armed with poisoned arrows, to shoot you on the face and hands. Some of your servants were to have private orders to strew a poisonous juice on your shirts and sheets, which would soon make you tear your own flesh, and die in the utmost torture. The general came into the same opinion; so that for a long time there was a majority against you;

but his majesty resolving, if possible, to spare your life, at last brought off the chamberlain.

“Upon this incident, Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, who always approved himself your true friend, was commanded by the emperor to deliver his opinion, which he accordingly did; and therein justified the good thoughts you have of him. He allowed your crimes were great, but that still there was room for mercy, the most commendable virtue in a prince, and for which his majesty was so justly celebrated. He said, the friendship between you and him was so well known to the world, that perhaps the most honourable board might think him partial: however, in obedience to the command he had received, he would freely offer his sentiments. That if his majesty, in consideration of your services, and pursuant to his own merciful disposition, would please to spare your life, and only give orders to put out both of your eyes, he humbly conceived that, by this expedient, justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the world would applaud the lenity of the emperor, as well as the fair and generous proceedings of those who have the honour to be his counsellors. That the loss of your eyes would be no impediment to your bodily strength, by which you might still be useful to his majesty: that blindness is an addition to courage, by concealing dangers from us: that the fear you had for your eyes, was the greatest difficulty in bringing over the enemy's fleet; and it would be sufficient for you to see by the eyes of the ministers, since the greatest princes do no more.*

“This proposal was received with the utmost disapprobation

* The pretended merciful counsel of Reldresal, who proposed a commutation of punishment, which, however, was worse than death, appears to be a satire on those whigs who proposed that the Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, instead of being impeached for high treason, and thus brought in peril of life, should only be accused of high misdemeanors, which would justify their being deprived of title and estate, and sentenced to civil death.

by the whole board. Belgolam, the admiral, could not preserve his temper; but rising up in a fury, said he wondered now the secretary durst presume to give his opinion for preserving the life of a traitor: that the services you had performed were, by all true reasons of state, the great aggravation of your crimes; that you, who was able to extinguish the fire by discharge of urine in her majesty's apartment (which he mentioned with horror), might, at another time, raise an inundation by the same means, to drown the whole palace; and the same strength which enabled you to bring over the enemy's fleet, might serve, upon the first discontent, to carry it back: that he had good reason to think you were a Big-endian in your heart; and, as treason begins in the heart before it appears in overt acts, so he accused you as a traitor on that account, and therefore insisted you should be put to death.

"The treasurer was of the same opinion: he showed to what straits his majesty's revenue was reduced, by the charge of maintaining you, which would soon grow insupportable: that the secretary's expedient of putting out your eyes, was so far from being a remedy against this evil, that it would probably increase it, as is manifested from the common practice of blinding some kind of fowls, after which they feed the faster and grow sooner fat; that his sacred majesty and the council, who are your judges, were, in their own consciences, fully convinced of your guilt, which was a sufficient argument to condemn you to death without the formal proofs required by the strict letter of the law.*

* There is something so odious in whatever is wrong, that even those whom it does not subject to punishment, endeavour to colour it with an appearance of right; but the attempt is always unsuccessful, and only betrays a consciousness of deformity by showing a desire to hide it. Thus the Lilliputian court pretended a right to dispense with the strict letter of the law to put Gulliver to death, though by the strict letter of the law only he could be convicted of a crime; the intention of the statute not being to suffer the palace rather to be burnt than so to be extinguished.

Hawksworth.

But his imperial majesty, fully determined against capital punishment, was graciously pleased to say, that since the council thought the loss of your eyes too easy a censure, some other may be inflicted hereafter.* And your friend the secretary, humbly desiring to be heard again, in answer to what the treasurer had objected, concerning the great charge his majesty was at in maintaining you, said, that his excellency, who had the sole disposal of the emperor's revenue, might easily provide against that evil, by gradually lessening your establishment; by which, for want of sufficient food, you will grow weak and faint, and lose your appetite, and consume in a few months; neither would the stench of your carcass be then so dangerous, when it should become more than half diminished; and immediately upon your death, five or six thousand of his majesty's subjects might, in two or three days, cut your flesh from your bones, take it away by cartloads, and bury it in distant parts, to prevent infection, leaving the skeleton as a monument of admiration to posterity.

"Thus by the great friendship of the secretary, the whole affair was compromised. It was strictly enjoined, that the project of starving you by degrees should be kept a secret; but the sentence of putting out your eyes was entered on the books; none dissenting, except Bolgolam, the admiral, who, being a creature of the empress, was perpetually instigated by her majesty to insist upon your death, she having borne perpetual malice against you, on account of that infamous and illegal method you took to extinguish the fire in her apartment.

"In three days your friend the secretary will be directed to come to your house, and read before you the articles of

*This appears to be directed against the partial pardon which was granted to Lord Bolingbroke. George I. could never be persuaded to restore him to his rights as a peer, though Bolingbroke bribed the Duchess of Kendal to use her powerful intercession, and actually induced her to place his memorial in the king's own hand.

impeachment; and then to signify the great lenity and favour of his majesty and council, whereby you are only condemned to the loss of your eyes, which his majesty does not question you will gratefully and humbly submit to; and twenty of his majesty's surgeons will attend, in order to see the operation well performed, by discharging very sharp-pointed arrows into the balls of your eyes, as you lie on the ground.

"I leave to your prudence what measures you will take; and to avoid suspicion, I must immediately return in as private a manner as I came."

His lordship did so; and I remained alone, under many doubts and perplexities of mind.

It was a custom introduced by this prince and his ministry (very different, as I have been assured, from the practice of former times), that after the court had decreed any cruel execution, either to gratify the monarch's resentment, or the malice of a favourite, the emperor always made a speech to his whole council, expressing his great lenity and tenderness as qualities known and confessed by all the world. This speech was immediately published throughout the kingdom;* nor did any thing terrify the people so much, as those encomiums on his majesty's mercy; because it was observed, that the more these praises were enlarged and insisted on, the more inhuman was the punishment, and the sufferer more innocent. Yet as to myself, I must confess, having never been designed for a courtier, either by my birth or education, I was so ill a judge of things, that could not discover the lenity and favour of this sentence, but conceived it (perhaps erroneously) rather to be rigorous than gentle. I sometimes thought of standing my trial; for, although I could not deny the facts alleged in the

*Sir Walter Scott supposes that a sarcasm is intended here against the royal proclamations issued after the rebellion of 1715, but Swift more probably alludes to the king's speech at the opening of parliament, October 11th, 1722, wherein he informed both Houses of the conspiracy to restore the Pretender, in which Atterbury was involved.

several articles, yet I hoped they would admit of some extenuation. But having in my life perused many state trials, which I ever observed to terminate as the judges thought fit to direct, I durst not rely on so dangerous a decision, in so critical a juncture, and against such powerful enemies. Once, I was strongly bent upon resistance: for, while I had liberty, the whole strength of that empire could hardly subdue me, and I might easily with stones pelt the metropolis to pieces; but I soon rejected that project with horror, by remembering the oath I had made to the emperor, the favours I received from him, and the high title of *nardac* he conferred upon me. Neither had I so soon learned the gratitude of courtiers, to persuade myself that his majesty's present severities acquitted me of all past obligations.*

At last I fixed upon a resolution, for which it is probable I may incur some censure, and not unjustly; for I confess I owe the preserving of mine eyes, and consequently my liberty, to my own great rashness and want of experience; because, if I had then known the nature of princes and ministers, which I have since observed in many other courts, and their methods of treating criminals less obnoxious than myself, I should, with great alacrity and readiness, have submitted to so easy a punishment.† But hurried on by the precipitancy of youth,

* Gulliver's defence of himself for escaping to Blefuscu is a covert apology for Bolingbroke's flight to France in 1715; a circumstance which was frequently quoted as decisive proof of his guilt, and censured as an act of imprudence by many who believed in his innocence. The Dean insinuates that it was like that of Gulliver, rendered necessary by the malice of the ministers of the day; and it must be confessed that the mode in which the articles of impeachment were urged forward, gave too much reason to believe that Bolingbroke's death was pre-determined by his accusers.

† This bitter stroke of irony is directed against the acts of parliament by which Ormond, Bolingbroke, and the Bishop of Rochester, were attainted. Swift gave rather a perilous proof of his belief in the innocence of the Duke of Ormond, when, after that nobleman's attainder, the heralds from the Irish College of Arms went to remove his escutcheon from St. Patrick's Cathedral, Swift refused them admittance and persevered in keeping the duke's coat of arms in its ancient place of honour.

and having his imperial majesty's license to pay my attendance upon the emperor of Blefuscu, I took this opportunity, before the three days were elapsed, to send a letter to my friend the secretary, signifying my resolution of setting out that morning for Blefuscu, pursuant to the leave I had got; and, without waiting for an answer, I went to that side of the island where our fleet lay. I seized a large man-of-war, tied a cable to the prow, and lifting up the anchors, I stripped myself, put my clothes (together with my coverlet, which I carried under my arm) into the vessel, and drawing it after me, between wading and swimming, arrived at the royal port of Blefuscu, where the people had long expected me; they lent me two guides to direct me to the capital city, which is of the same name. I held them in my hands till I came within two hundred yards of the gate, and desired them "to signify my arrival to one of the secretaries, and let him know I there waited his majesty's command." I had an answer in about an hour, "that his majesty, attended by the royal family, and great officers of the court, was coming out to receive me." I advanced a hundred yards. The emperor and his train alighted from their horses, the empress and ladies from their coaches, and I did not perceive they were in any fright or concern. I lay on the ground to kiss his majesty's and the empress's hands. I told his majesty, "that I was come according to my promise, and with the license of the emperor my master, to have the honour of seeing so mighty a monarch, and to offer him any service in my power, consistent with my duty to my own prince;" not mentioning a word of my disgrace, because I had hitherto no regular information of it, and might suppose myself wholly ignorant of any such design; neither could I reasonably conceive that the emperor would discover the secret, while I was out of his power; wherein, however, it soon appeared I was deceived.

I shall not trouble the reader with the particular account

of my reception at this court, which was suitable to the generosity of so great a prince; nor of the difficulties I was in for want of a house and bed, being forced to lie on the ground, wrapped up in my coverlet.*

* The author probably alludes to the severe hardships endured by many of the Jacobite exiles in France

CHAPTER VIII.

The author, by a lucky accident, finds means to leave Blefuscu; and, after some difficulties, returns safe to his native country.

THREE days after my arrival, walking out of curiosity to the north-east coast of the island, I observed, about half a league off in the sea, somewhat that looked like a boat overturned. I pulled off my shoes and stockings, and wading two or three hundred yards, I found the object to approach nearer by force of the tide; and then plainly saw it to be a real boat, which I supposed might by some tempest have been driven from a ship; whereupon I returned immediately towards the city, and desired his imperial majesty to lend me twenty of the tallest vessels he had left, after the loss of his fleet, and three thousand seamen, under the command of his vice admiral. This fleet sailed round, while I went back the shortest way to the coast, where I first discovered the boat. I found the tide had driven it still nearer. The seamen were all provided with cordage, which I had beforehand twisted to a sufficient strength. When the ships came up, I stripped myself, and waded till I came within a hundred yards of the boat, after which I was forced to swim till I got up to it. The seamen threw me the end of the cord, which I fastened to a hole in the forepart of the boat, and the other end to a man-of-war; but I found all my labour to little purpose for being out of my depth, I was not able to work. In this necessity I was forced to swim behind, and push the boat forward, as often as

I could, with one of my hands; and the tide favouring me, I advanced so far that I could just hold up my chin and feel the ground. I rested two or three minutes, and then gave the boat another shove, and so on, till the sea was no higher than my arm-pits; and now the most laborious part being over, I took out my other cables, which were stowed in one of the ships, and fastened them first to the boat, and then to nine of the vessels which attended me; the wind being favourable, the seamen towed, and I shoved, until we arrived within forty yards of the shore, and waiting till the tide was out, I got dry to the boat, and by the assistance of two thousand men with ropes and engines, I made a shift to turn it on its bottom, and found it was but little damaged.

I shall not trouble the reader with the difficulties I was under, by the help of certain paddles, which cost me ten days making, to get my boat to the royal port of Blefuscu, where a mighty concourse of people appeared upon my arrival, full of wonder at the sight of so prodigious a vessel. I told the emperor "that my good fortune had thrown this boat in my way, to carry me to some place whence I might return into my native country; and begged his majesty's orders for getting materials to fit it up; together with his license to depart;" which, after some kind expostulations, he was pleased to grant.

I did very much wonder, in all this time, not to have heard* of any express relating to me from our emperor to the court of Blefuscu. But I was afterwards given privately to understand, that his imperial majesty, never imagining I had the least notice of his designs, believed I was only gone to Blefuscu in performance of my promise, according to the license he had given me, which was well known at our court, and would return in a few days, when the ceremony was

*"I did very much wonder not to have heard," etc. This sentence is ungrammatical; it should have been, 'I did very much wonder, in all this time, at not having heard of my express,' etc.—*Sheridan*.

ended. But he was at last in pain at my long absence ; and after consulting with the treasurer and the rest of that cabal, a person of quality was dispatched with a copy of the articles against me. This envoy had instructions to represent to the monarch of Blefuscu “the great lenity of his master, who was content to punish me no farther than with the loss of mine eyes ; that I had fled from justice ; and if I did not return in two hours, I should be deprived of my title of *nardac*, and declared a traitor.” The envoy farther added, “that in order to maintain the peace and amity between both empires, his master expected that his brother of Blefuscu would give orders to have me sent back to Lilliput, bound hand and foot, to be punished as a traitor.”†

The emperor of Blefuscu, having taken three days to consult, returned an answer consisting of many civilities and excuses. He said, “that, as for sending me bound, his brother knew it was impossible ; that although I had deprived him of his fleet, yet he owed great obligations to me for many good offices I had done him in making peace. That, however, both their majesties would soon be made easy ; for I had found a prodigious vessel on the shore, able to carry me on the sea, which he had given orders to fit up, with my own assistance and direction : and he hoped, in a few weeks, both empires would be freed from so insupportable an incumbrance.”

With this answer the envoy returned to Lilliput, and the monarch of Blefuscu related to me all that had passed ; offering me at the same time (but under the strictest confidence) his gracious protection, if I would continue in his service ; wherein, although I believed him sincere, yet I resolved never more to put any confidence in princes or ministers, where I could possibly avoid it ; and, therefore, with all due acknow-

† This embassy from Lilliput is designed to satirize the frequent remonstrances made to the French court by the English ministers in consequence of the protection granted to the Jacobites

ledgments for his favourable intentions, I humbly begged to be excused. I told him, that "since fortune, whether good or evil, had thrown a vessel in my way, I was resolved to venture myself on the ocean, rather than be an occasion of difference between two such mighty monarchs." Neither did I find the emperor at all displeased; and I discovered, by a certain accident, that he was very glad of my resolution, and so were most of his ministers.*

These considerations moved me to hasten my departure somewhat sooner than I intended; to which the court, impatient to have me gone, very readily contributed. Five hundred workmen were employed to make two sails to my boat, according to my directions, by quilting thirteen folds of their strongest linen together. I was at the pains of making ropes and cables, by twisting ten, twenty, or thirty, of the thickest and strongest of theirs. A great stone that I happened to find, after a long search, by the sea-shore, served me for an anchor. I had the tallow of three hundred cows, for greasing my boat, and other uses. I was at incredible pains in cutting down some of the largest timber trees for oars and masts, wherein I was, however, much assisted by his majesty's ship-carpenters, who helped me in smoothing them, after I had done the rough work.

* This irony is directed against the jealousy with which Bolingbroke, during his exile, was regarded by the French ministers. His restless spirit of intrigue rendered him scarcely less formidable at Versailles than he had been at St. James's. During his exile, Bolingbroke entered the Pretender's service, but soon quarrelled with his master, and was formally attainted at the mock court of St. James's. It was a singular fortune to be secretary to and attainted by both governments. Swift has invariably eulogized Bolingbroke as a pure patriot; but he was far from deserving that character. "His life," says a recent writer, "was chiefly spent in retirement, and though not highly exemplary of practical wisdom, he was looked up to with oracular veneration by contemporary wits and politicians. He was a fine speaker and highly accomplished man; of great energy and decision of character; but unscrupulous, and lacked the integrity of principle and singleness of purpose which inspire confidence and lead to unquestioned excellence. He was ambitious, envious of superiority, resentful, lax in morals, a partisan in politics, and an infidel in religion.

In about a month, when all was prepared, I sent to receive his majesty's commands, and to take my leave. The emperor and royal family came out of the palace; I lay down on my face to kiss his hand, which he very graciously gave me; so did the empress and young princes of the blood. His majesty presented me with fifty purses of two hundred *sprugs* apiece, together with his picture at full length, which I put immediately into one of my gloves, to keep it from being hurt. The ceremonies at my departure were too many to trouble the reader with at this time.

I stored the boat with the carcasses of a hundred oxen and three hundred sheep, with bread and drink proportionable, and as much meat ready-dressed as four hundred cooks could provide. I took with me six cows and two bulls alive, with as many ewes and rams, intending to carry them into my own country, and propagate the breed; and to feed them on board, I had a good bundle of hay, and a bag of corn. I would gladly have taken a dozen of the natives, but this was a thing the emperor would by no means permit; and besides a diligent search into my pockets, his majesty engaged my honour "not to carry away any of his subjects, although with their own consent and desire."

Having thus prepared all things as well as I was able, I set sail, on the twenty-fourth day of September 1701, at six in the morning; and when I had gone about four leagues to the northward, the wind being at south-east, at six in the evening, I descried a small island, about half a league to the north-west. I advanced forward, and cast anchor on the lee side of the island, which seemed to be uninhabited. I then took some refreshment, and went to my rest. I slept well, and as I conjecture at least six hours, for I found the day broke in two hours after I awaked. It was a clear night. I ate my breakfast before the sun was up; and heaving anchor, the wind being favourable, I steered the same course that I had done

the day before, wherein I was directed by my pocket-compass. My intention was to reach, if possible, one of those islands which I had reason to believe lay to the north-east of Van Diemen's Land. I discovered nothing all that day; but upon the next, about three in the afternoon, when I had, by my computation, made twenty-four leagues from Blefuscu, I descried a sail steering to the south-east; my course was due east. I hailed her but could get no answer; yet I found I gained upon her, for the wind slackened. I made all the sail I could, and in half an hour she spied me, then hung out her ancient, and discharged a gun. It is not easy to express the joy I was in, upon the unexpected hope of once more seeing my beloved country, and the dear pledges I left in it. The ship slackened her sails, and I came up with her between five and six in the evening, September 26; but my heart leaped within me to see her English colours. I put my cows and sheep into my coat-pockets, and got on board with all my little cargo of provisions. The vessel was an English merchantman, returning from Japan by the North and South Seas; the captain, Mr. John Biddel of Deptford, a very civil man and an excellent sailor. We were now in the latitude of 30 degrees south; there were about fifty men in the ship; and here I met an old comrade of mine, one Peter Williams, who gave me a good character to the captain. This gentleman treated me with kindness, and desired I would let him know what place I came from last, and whither I was bound; which I did in a few words, but he thought I was raving, and that the dangers I had underwent* had disturbed my head; whereupon I took my black cattle and sheep out of my pocket, which, after great astonishment, clearly convinced him of my veracity. I then showed him the gold given me by the emperor of Blefuscu, together with his majesty's pic-

* "I had underwent," is not English: it should have been "I had undergone" or "I underwent."

ture at full length, and some other rarities of that country. I gave him two purses of two hundred *sprugs* each, and promised, when we arrived in England, to make him a present of a cow, and a sheep big with young.

I shall not trouble the reader with a particular account of this voyage, which was very prosperous for the most part. We arrived in the Downs on the 13th of April 1702. I had only one misfortune, that the rats on board carried away one of my sheep: I found her bones in a hole, picked clean from the flesh. The rest of my cattle I got safe ashore, and set them a-grazing on a bowling-green at Greenwich, where the fineness of the grass made them feed very heartily, though I had always feared the contrary: neither could I possibly have preserved them in so long a voyage, if the captain had not allowed me some of his best biscuit, which, rubbed to powder, and mingled with water, was their constant food. The short time I continued in England, I made a considerable profit by showing my cattle to many persons of quality and others; and before I began my second voyage I sold them for six hundred pounds. Since my last return I find the breed is considerably increased, especially the sheep, which I hope will prove much to the advantage of the woollen manufacture, by the fineness of the fleeces.* I stayed but two months with my wife and family, for my insatiable desire of seeing foreign countries would suffer me to continue no longer. I left fifteen hundred pounds with my wife, and fixed her in a good

* This is a passing sarcasm on the numerous acts of parliament for encouraging the woollen manufactures, and the various schemes proposed in Swift's time for improving the growth and fineness of wool. There is probably no other subject on which greater blunders have been made in commercial legislation than the English woollen trade, nor any which more clearly shows the futility of protecting duties and direct encouragement from parliament. Swift provoked the indignation of the party in power, by protesting earnestly against the commercial jealousy which annihilated the woollen manufactures of Ireland, under pretence of their interfering with the staple manufacture of England: but wool was the favourite hobby of his day, and projects for extending the trade formed no small part of the bubbles of 1720.

house at Redriff. My remaining stock I carried with me, part in money and part in goods, in hopes to improve my fortunes. My eldest uncle John had left me an estate in land near Epping of about thirty pounds a year, and I had a long lease of the Black Bull in Fetter-lane, which yielded me as much more; so that I was not in any danger of leaving my family upon the parish. My son Johnny, named so after his uncle, was at the grammar-school, and a towardly child. My daughter Betty (who is now well married, and has children) was then at her needlework. I took leave of my wife and boy and girl, with tears on both sides, and went on board the *Adventure*, a merchant ship of three hundred tons, bound for Surat, Captain John Nicholas, of Liverpool, commander. But my account of this voyage must be referred to the Second Part of my Travels.

TO QUINBUS FLESTRIN, THE MAN-MOUNTAIN

An Ode,

BY TITTY TIT, ESQ.

POET-LAUREATE TO HIS MAJESTY OF LILLIPUT.

Translated into English.

In amaze,
Lost, I gaze!
Can our eyes
Reach thy size?
May my lays
Swell with praise!
Worthy thee!
Worthy me!
Muse inspire
All thy fire.
Bards of old
Of him told,
When they said
Atlas' head
Propped the skies:
See, and believe your eyes.

See him stride
Valleys wide:
Over woods,
Over floods,
When he treads,
Mountains' heads

Groan and shake ;
Armies quake,
Lest his sourn
Overturn
Man and steed :
Troops take heed.
Left and right,
Speed your flight
Lest an host
Beneath his foot be lost

Turn'd aside
From his hide,
Safe from wound,
Darts rebound ;
From his nose
Clouds he blows ;
When he speaks
Thunder breaks !
When he eats,
Famine threatens ;
When he drinks
Neptune shrinks ;
Nigh thy ear
In mid air
On thy hand
Let me stand,
So shall I,
Lofty poet, touch the sky.

PART II.

A VOYAGE TO BROBDINGNAG

A VOYAGE TO BROBDINGNAG *

CHAPTER I.

A great storm descried; the long boat sent to fetch water, the author goes with it to discover the country—He is left on shore, is seized by one of the natives and carried to a farmer's house.—His reception, with several accidents that happened there—A description of the inhabitants.

AN active and restless life having been assigned me by nature and fortune, in two months after my return I again left my native country, and took shipping in the Downs, on the 20th day of June, 1702, in the Adventure, Captain John Nicholas, a Cornishman, commander, bound for Surat. We had a very prosperous gale, till we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope,

* The existence of giants as a distinct race, superior in strength and stature to the rest of mankind, was long maintained as an article of faith, not merely by the ignorant and vulgar, but by men of learning. According to the Rabbins, Adam was not only the first but the largest of mankind: they affirm that when he was created, his stature was so great that his head reached the heavens. This so annoyed the angels that they remonstrated with the Creator, upon which God placed his hand on Adam's head, and he instantly shrank into one thousand cubits. When the Garden of Eden was disjoined from the rest of the world, after the Fall, by the interposition of the ocean, they assert that Adam waded through the depths of his new habitation, and that Eve accompanied him without fear of drowning; which she might well do, if, as the Mohammedan doctors tell us, when her head lay on a hill near Mecca, her knees rested on two others in the plain, more than two bow shots asunder.

Not only Jewish but Christian writers have maintained that a gigantic antediluvian race was produced by the intercourse between "the sons of God" and "the daughters of men." (Gen. vi. 5.) And they aver, that these giants were destroyed by the universal deluge. Hence the Douay version renders Job xxvi.*5: "Behold

where we landed for fresh water; but discovering a lake, we unshipped our goods, and wintered there; for the captain falling sick of an ague, we could not leave the Cape till the end of March. We then set sail, and had a good voyage till

the giants groan under the waters, and they that dwell with them. Hell is naked before them, and there is no cover for perdition." To this sublime version the following comment is added: "Giants were not able to wade in Noah's flood, but were drowned with the rest." The Rabbins however make an exception in favour of Og, king of Basan, compared to whom, according to their legends, all other giants were mere Lilliputians. The waters of the deluge, they say, only reached to his knees, and he was alive at the time of Exodus, when God destroyed him by the hand of Moses. For Og, perceiving the advance of the Israelites, whose army covered a space of nine miles, cut a stone out of a mountain, so wide, that it would have covered the whole army, and he put it on his head that he might throw it upon them. But God sent a lapwing which pecked a whole through the stone, so that it slipped over Og's head, and hung around his neck like a necklace. The weight bore him to the ground on his face, and in this condition he was attacked by Moses. Moses was ten cubits in stature, and he took a spear ten cubits long, and threw it ten cubits high, and yet it only reached Og's heels. Moses however succeeded in slaying him; and when he was dead, his body lay for a whole year, reaching as far as the river Nile in Egypt.

The feats of the giants who warred against the gods are sufficiently known, and they may be passed over as purely mythological. But grave historians have recorded that Scandinavia was originally inhabited by giants, one of whom, according to Olaus Magnus, was an eminent poet; and, unlike the rest of the tuneful brotherhood, wrote against indulgence in love and wine. Britain, if we may trust Grafton's Chronicle, was similarly tenanted: "Brute with his companie after his first landing in the island of Totnesse, searched and travailed throughout all the land, and found the same to be marvellous ryche and plentifull of wood and pasture, and garnished with most goodly and pleasant ryvers and streames; and as he passed he was encountered in sundry places with a great number of mightie and strong gyants, which at that did inhabit the same."

A belief in the existence of whole nations of giants is only now beginning to fade away before the gradual progress of geographical discovery. The ancients supposed that giants possessed the interior of Africa. In the time of Purchas (A. D. 1614), the Indians of Virginia were supposed to belong to the race of Anak, for he gives the following account of a Virginian tribe, on the authority of Alexander Whitaker, an early traveller in these regions. "The Sasquesahanockes are a giantly people, strange in proportion, behavior, and attire, their voice sounding from them as out of a cave, their attire of bears' skins hanged with bears' paws, the head of a wolf, and such like jewels; and (if any would have a spoone to eat with the divele) their tobacco-pipes were three quarters of a yard long, carved at the great end with a bird, beare, or other device, sufficient to beat out the braines of a horse, (and how many asses' braines are beat out, or rather men's braines smoked out and asses' braines haled in, by our lesse pipes at home?) the rest of their furniture was suitable. The calf of one of their legges was measured three-quarters of a yard about, the

we passed the Straits of Madagascar; but having got northward of that island, and to about five degrees south latitude, the winds, which in those seas are observed to blow a constant equal gale between the north and west, from the beginning of December to the beginning of May, on the 19th of April began to blow with much greater violence, and more westerly than usual, continuing so for twenty days together; during which time, we were driven a little to the east of the Molucca Islands, about three degrees northward of the line, as our captain found by an observation he took on the 2d of May, at which time the wind ceased, and it was a perfect calm; whereat I was not a little rejoiced. But he being a man well experienced in navigation of those seas, bid us all prepare against a storm, which accordingly happened on the day following; for the southern wind, called the southern moonshine, began to set in.

Finding it was likely to overblow,* we took in our spirit-

rest of his limbs proportionable." The exaggerated accounts of the Patagonians, published by Magellan and Le Maire, had not been refuted in Swift's time; so late as 1764, Commodore Byron declared that their stature filled him with astonishment. Hence Brobdingnag, considered merely as a fiction, did not seem so extravagant in the early part of the eighteenth as it does in the nineteenth century.

Lucian in his *True History*, and Bishop Godwin in his whimsical account of Domingo Gonsales' journey to the moon, have introduced gigantic races into their fictions. It is very probable that Swift took his first hint of the Brobdingnaggians from the latter; for, like the bishop, he associates mildness and gentleness with enormous stature. "Many of the lunarians," says the author of the *World in the Moon*, "live wonderful long, even beyond belief; affirming to me that some survived thirty thousand moons, which is above a thousand years; and this is generally noted, that the taller people are of stature, the more excellent are their endowments of mind, and the longer time they live; for their stature is very different, great numbers not much exceeding ours, who seldom live above a thousand moons, which is fourscore of our years. These they account base unworthy creatures, but one degree above brute beasts, and employ them in mean and servile offices, calling them bastards, counterfeits, or changelings. Those whom they account true natural luners, or moon-men, exceed ours generally thirty times, both in quantity of body and length of life proportionable to the quality of the day in both worlds: theirs containing almost thirty of our days."

* This is a parody upon the account of storms and naval manœuvres frequent in old voyages, and is merely an assemblage of sea terms put together at random.

sail, and stood by to hand the fore-sail; but, making foul weather, we looked that the guns were all fast and handed the mizen. The ship lay very broad off, so we thought it better spooning before the sea than trying or hulling. We reefed the fore-sail and set him, and hauled aft the foresheet; the helm was hard-a weather. The ship wore bravely. We belayed the fore down-haul; but the sail was split, and we hauled down the yard, and got the sail into the ship, and unbound all things clear of it. It was a very fierce storm: the sea broke strange and dangerous. We hauled off upon the laniard of the whip-staff, and helped the man at the helm. We could not get down our topmast, but let all stand, because she scudded before the sea very well, and we knew that the topmast being aloft, the ship was the wholesomer and made better way through the sea, seeing we had sea-room. When the storm was over, we set fore-sail and main sail, and brought the ship to. Then we set the mizen, main-top-sail, and the fore-top-sail. Our course was north-east, and the wind was at south-west. We got the starboard tacks aboard, we cast off our weather braces and lifts; we set in the lee-braces, and hauled forward by the weather-bowlings, and hauled them tight, and belayed them, and hauled over the mizen tack to windward, and kept her full and by as near as she would lie. During this storm, which was followed by a strong wind west-south-west, we were carried, by my computation, about five hundred leagues to the east, so that the oldest sailor on board could not tell in what part of the world we were. Our provisions held out well, our ship was staunch, and our crew all in good health; but we lay in the utmost distress for water. We thought it best to hold on the same course, rather than turn more northerly, which might have brought us to the north-west of Great Tartary, and into the Frozen Sea.

On the 16th day of June 1703, a boy on the topmast discovered land. On the 17th we came in full view of a great

island, or continent (for we knew not whether) ; on the south-side whereof was a small neck of land jutting out into the sea, and a creek too shallow to hold a ship of above one hundred tons. We cast anchor within a league of this creek, and our captain sent a dozen of his men well armed in the long boat, with vessels for water, if any could be found. I desired his leave to go with them, that I might see the country, and make what discoveries I could. When we came to land we saw no river, or spring, nor any sign of inhabitants. Our men therefore wandered on the shore to find out some fresh water near the sea, and I walked alone about a mile on the other side, where I observed the country all barren and rocky. I now began to be weary, and seeing nothing to entertain my curiosity, I returned gently down toward the creek ; and the sea being full in my view, I saw our men already got into the boat, and rowing for life to the ship. I was going to holla after them, although it had been to little purpose, when I observed a huge creature walking after them in the sea, as fast as he could ; he waded not much deeper than his knees, and took prodigious strides : but our men had the start of him half a league, and the sea thereabouts being full of sharp pointed rocks, the monster was not able to overtake the boat. This I was afterwards told, for I durst not stay to see the issue of the adventure, but ran as fast as I could the way I first went and then climbed up a steep hill which gave me some prospect of the country. I found it fully cultivated ; but that which surprised me was the length of the grass, which, in those grounds seemed to be kept for hay, was about twenty feet high.

I fell into a high road, for so I took it to be, though it served to the inhabitants only as a footpath through a field of barley. Here I walked on for some time, but could see little on either side, it being now near harvest, and the corn rising at least forty feet. I was an hour walking to the end of this

field, which was fenced in with a hedge at least a hundred and twenty feet high, and the trees so lofty that I could make no computation of their altitude. There was a stile to pass from this field into the next. It had four steps and a stone to cross over when you come to the uppermost. It was impossible for me to climb this stile, because every step was six feet high, and the upper stone about twenty. I was endeavouring to find some gap in the hedge, when I discovered one of the inhabitants in the next field, advancing towards the stile, of the same size with him I saw in the sea pursuing our boat. He appeared as tall as an ordinary spire steeple, and took about ten yards at every stride, as near as I could guess. I was struck with the utmost fear and astonishment, and ran to hide myself in the corn, whence I saw him at the top of the stile looking back into the next field on the right hand, and heard him call in a voice many degrees louder than a speaking trumpet; but the noise was so high in the air, that at first I certainly thought it was thunder. Whereupon seven monsters, like himself, came towards him, with reaping hooks in their hands, each hook about the largeness of six scythes. These people were not so well clad as the first, whose servants or laborers they seemed to be; for, upon some words he spoke, they went to reap the corn in the field where I lay. I kept from them at as great a distance as I could, but was forced to move with extreme difficulty, for the stalks of corn were sometimes not a foot distant, so that I could hardly squeeze my body betwixt them. However, I made a shift to go forward till I came to a part of the field where the corn had been laid by rain and wind. Here it was impossible for me to advance a step; for the stalks were so interwoven, that I could not creep through, and the beards of the fallen ears so strong and pointed, that they pierced through my clothes into my flesh. At the same time I heard the reapers not above a hundred yards behind me. Being quite dispirited

with toil, and wholly overcome with grief and despair, I lay down between two ridges, and heartily wished I might there end my days. I bemoaned my desolate widow and fatherless children. I lamented my own folly and wilfulness, in attempting a second voyage, against the advice of all my friends and relations. In this terrible agitation of mind, I could not forbear thinking of Lilliput, whose inhabitants looked upon me as the greatest prodigy that ever appeared in the world; where I was able to draw an imperial fleet in my hand, and perform those other actions, which will be recorded forever in the chronicles of that empire, while posterity shall hardly believe them, although attested by millions. I reflected what a mortification it must prove to me to appear as inconsiderable in this nation, as one single Lilliputian would be among us. But this I conceived to be the least of my misfortunes; for, as human creatures are observed to be more savage and cruel in proportion to their bulk, what could I expect but to be a morsel in the mouth of the first among these enormous barbarians that should happen to seize me? Undoubtedly, philosophers are in the right when they tell us that nothing is great or little otherwise than by comparison. It might have pleased fortune, to have let the Lilliputians find some nation where the people were as diminutive with respect to them, as they were to me. And who knows but that even this prodigious race of mortals might be equally overmatched in some distant part of the world, whereof we have yet no discovery?*

Scared and confounded as I was, I could not forbear going on with these reflections, when one of the reapers approaching within ten yards of the ridge where I lay, made me apprehend

* The satire in the account of the Voyage to Lilliput is for the most part personal, but in the account of Brobdingnag the satire is general, and directed against institutions rather than individuals. There are, however, a few sarcastic hits in the account given of the court of Brobdingnag, which bore hard on the statesmen of the day.—*Percy, Bishop of Dromore, MS.*

that with the next step I should be squashed to death under his foot, or cut in two with his reaping hook. And therefore, when he was again about to move, I screamed as loud as fear could make me; whereupon the huge creature trod short, and looking round about under him for some time, at last espied me as I lay on the ground. He considered awhile, with the caution of one who endeavours to lay hold on a small dangerous animal in such a manner that it shall not be able either to scratch or bite him, as I myself have sometimes done with a weasel in England. At length he ventured to take me behind, by the middle, between his fore finger and thumb, and brought me within three yards of his eyes, that he might behold my shape more perfectly. I guessed his meaning, and my good fortune gave me so much presence of mind, that I resolved not to struggle in the least as he held me in the air above sixty feet from the ground, although he grievously pinched my sides, for fear I should slip through his fingers. All I ventured was to raise mine eyes towards the sun, and place my hands together in a supplicating posture, and to speak some words in an humble melancholy tone, suitable to the condition I then was in; for I apprehended every moment that he would dash me against the ground, as we usually do any little hateful animal which we have a mind to destroy. But my good star would have it that he appeared pleased with my voice and gestures, and began to look upon me as a curiosity, much wondering to hear me pronounce articulate words, although he could not understand them. In the mean time I was not able to forbear groaning and shedding tears, and turning my head towards my sides; letting him know, as well as I could, how cruelly I was hurt by the pressure of his thumb and finger. He seemed to apprehend my meaning; for, lifting up the lappet of his coat, he put me gently into it, and immediately ran along with me

to his master, who was a substantial farmer, and the same person I had first seen in the field.

The farmer having (as I supposed by their talk) received such an account of me as his servant could give him, took a piece of a small straw, about the size of a walking-staff, and therewith lifted up the lappets of my coat; which, it seems, he thought to be some kind of covering that nature had given me. He blew my hair aside to take a better view of my face. He called his hinds about him, and asked them, as I afterwards learned, "Whether they had ever seen in the fields any little creature that resembled me?" he then placed me softly on the ground on all fours, but I immediately got up, and walked slowly backward and forward, to let those people see I had no intent to run away. They all sat down in a circle about me, the better to observe my motions. I pulled off my hat, and made a low bow before the farmer. I fell on my knees, and lifted up my hands and eyes, and spoke several words as loud as I could; I took a purse of gold out of my pocket, and humbly presented it to him. He received it on the palm of his hand, and then applied it close to his eye to see what it was, and afterwards turned it several times with the point of a pin (which he took out of his sleeve), but could make nothing of it. Whereupon I made a sign that he should place his hand on the ground. I then took the purse, and opening it poured all the gold into his palm. There were six Spanish pieces of four pistoles each, besides twenty or thirty smaller coins. I saw him wet the tip of his little finger upon his tongue, and take up one of my largest pieces, and then another; but he seemed to be wholly ignorant what they were. He made me a sign to put them again into my purse, and the purse again into my pocket, which, after offering it to him several times, I thought it best to do.

The farmer, by this time, was convinced that I must be a rational creature. He spoke often to me; but the sound of

his voice pierced my ears like that of a water-mill, yet his words were articulate enough. I answered as loud as I could in several languages, and he often laid his ear within two yards of me; but all in vain, for we were wholly unintelligible to each other. He then sent his servants to their work, and taking his handkerchief out of his pocket, he doubled and spread it on his left hand, which he placed flat on the ground with the palm upward, making me a sign to step into it, as I could easily do, for it was not above a foot in thickness. I thought it my part to obey, and, for fear of falling, laid myself at full length upon the handkerchief, with the remainder of which he lapped me up to the head for further security, and in this manner carried me home to his house. There he called his wife, and showed me to her; but she screamed and ran back, as women in England do at the sight of a toad or a spider. However, when she had awhile seen my behaviour, and how well I observed the signs her husband made, she was soon reconciled and by degrees grew extremely tender to me.

It was about twelve at noon, and a servant brought in dinner. It was only one substantial dish of meat (fit for the plain condition of a husbandman), in a dish of about four-and-twenty feet diameter. The company were, the farmer and his wife, three children, and an old grandmother. When they were sat down, the farmer placed me at some distance from him on the table, which was thirty feet high from the floor. I was in a terrible fright, and kept as far as I could from the edge, for fear of falling. The wife minced a bit of meat, then crumbled some bread on a trencher, and placed it before me. I made her a low bow, took out my knife and fork, and fell to eat, which gave them exceeding delight. The mistress sent her maid for a small dram cup, which held about two gallons, and filled it with drink; I took up the vessel with much difficulty in both hands, and in a most respectful manner drank to

her ladyship's health, expressing the words as loud as I could in English, which made the company laugh so heartily that I was almost deafened with the noise. This liquor tasted like a small cider, and was not unpleasant. Then the master made me a sign to come to his trencher side; but as I walked on the table, being at great surprise all the time, as the indulgent reader will easily conceive and excuse, I happened to stumble against a crust, and fell flat on my face, but received no hurt. I got up immediately, and observing the good people to be in much concern, I took my hat (which I held under my arm out of good manners), and waving it over my head, gave three huzzas, to show I had got no mischief by the fall. But advancing forwards towards my master (as I shall henceforth call him), his youngest son, who sat next to him, an arch boy of about ten years old, took me up by the legs, and held me so high in the air that I trembled every limb; but his father snatched me from him, and at the same time gave him such a box on the left ear, as would have felled an European troop of horse to the earth, ordering him to be taken from the table. But being afraid the boy might owe me a spite, and well remembering how mischievous all children among us naturally are to sparrows, rabbits, young kittens, and puppy dogs, I fell on my knees, and pointing to the boy, made my master to understand as well as I could, that I desired his son might be pardoned. The father complied, and the lad took his seat again, whereupon I went to him, and kissed his hand, which my master took, and made him stroke me gently with it.

In the midst of dinner, my mistress's favourite cat leaped into her lap. I heard a noise behind me like that of a dozen stocking-weavers at work; and turning my head, I found it proceeded from the purring of that animal, who seemed to be three times larger than an ox, as I computed by the view of her head, and one of her paws, while her mistress was feeding

and stroking her. The fierceness of this creature's countenance altogether discomposed me; though I stood at the farther end of the table, above fifty feet off, and though my mistress held her fast, for fear she might give a spring, and seize me in her talons. But it happened there was no danger, for the cat took not the least notice of me, when my master placed me within three yards of her. And as I have been always told, and found true by experience in my travels, that flying or discovering fear before a fierce animal, is a certain way to make it pursue or attack you, so I resolved, in this dangerous juncture, to show no manner of concern. I walked with intrepidity five or six times before the very head of the cat, and came within half a yard of her; whereupon she drew herself back, as if she were more afraid of me. I had less apprehension concerning the dogs, whereof three or four came into the room, as it is usual in farmer's houses; one of which was a mastiff, equal in bulk to four elephants, and a greyhound somewhat taller than the mastiff, but not so large.

When dinner was almost done, the nurse came in with a child of a year old in her arms, who immediately spied me, and began a squall that you might have heard from London Bridge to Chelsea, after the usual oratory of infants, to get me for a plaything. The mother, out of pure indulgence, took me up, and put me towards the child, who presently seized me by the middle, and got my head into his mouth, where I roared so loud that the urchin was frightened, and let me drop, and I should infallibly have broke my neck, if the mother had not held her apron under me. The nurse, to quiet her babe, made use of a rattle, which was a kind of hollow vessel filled with great stones, and fastened by a cable to the child's waist; but all in vain; so that she was forced to apply the last remedy by giving it suck. I must confess no object ever disgusted me so much as the sight of her monstrous breast, which I cannot tell what to compare with, so as

to give the curious reader an idea of its bulk, shape, and colour. It stood prominent six feet, and could not be less than sixteen in circumference. The nipple was about half the bigness of my head, and the hue both of that and the dug, so varied with spots, pimples, and freckles, that nothing could appear more nauseous: for I had a near sight of her, she sitting down, the more conveniently to give suck, and I standing on the table. This made me reflect upon the fair skins of our English ladies, who appear so beautiful to us, only because they are of our own size, and their defects not to be seen but through a magnifying glass; where we find by experiment, that the smoothest and whitest skins look rough, and coarse, and ill coloured.

I remember, when I was at Lilliput, the complexions of those diminutive people appeared to me the fairest in the world; and talking upon the subject with a person of learning there, who was an intimate friend of mine, he said that my face appeared much fairer and smoother when he looked on me from the ground, than it did upon a nearer view, when I took him up in my hand and brought him close, which he confessed was at first a very shocking sight. He said "he could discover great holes in my skin; that the stumps of my beard were ten times stronger than the bristles of a boar, and my complexion made up of several colours, altogether disagreeable;" although I must beg leave to say for myself, that I am as fair as most of my sex and country, and very little sunburnt by all my travels. On the other side, discoursing of the ladies in the emperor's court, he used to tell me, "one had freckles, another too wide a mouth, a third too large a nose;" nothing of which I was able to distinguish. I confess this reflection was obvious enough; which, however, I could not forbear, lest the reader might think those vast creatures were actually deformed: for I must do them the justice to say, they are a comely race of people; and particularly the features of my

master's countenance, although he were but a farmer, when I beheld him from the height of sixty feet, appeared very well proportioned.

When dinner was done my master went out to his labourers, and, as I could discover by his voice and gesture, gave his wife strict charge to take care of me. I was very much tired and disposed to sleep, which my mistress perceiving, she put me on her own bed, and covered me with a clean white handkerchief, but larger and coarser than the mainsail of a man-of-war.

I slept about two hours, and dreamt I was at home with my wife and children, which aggravated my sorrows when I awaked,* and found myself alone, in a vast room, between two and three hundred feet wide, and about two hundred high, lying in a bed twenty yards wide. My mistress was gone about her household affairs, and had locked me in. The bed was eight yards from the floor. Some natural necessities required me to get down. I durst not presume to call; and if I had, it would have been in vain, with such a voice as mine, at so great a distance as from the room where I lay to the kitchen where the family kept. While I was under these circumstances, two rats crept up the curtains and ran smelling backwards and forwards on the bed. One of them came up almost to my face, whereupon I rose in a fright, and drew out my hanger to defend myself. These horrible animals had the boldness to attack me on both sides, and one of them held his fore-foot at my collar; but I had the good fortune to rip up his belly before he could do me any mischief. He fell down at my feet; and the other seeing the fate of his comrade, made his escape, but not without one good wound on the back, which I gave him as he fled, and made the blood run trickling from him. After this exploit, I walked to and

* This ought to have been "awoke," the preterit of the verb neuter, not "awaked," the preterit of the verb active.—*Sheridan*.

fro on the bed, to recover breath and loss of spirits. These creatures were about the size of a large mastiff, but infinitely more nimble and fierce; so that if I had taken off my belt before I went to sleep, I must have infallibly been torn to pieces and devoured. I measured the tail of the dead rat, and found it to be two yards long, wanting an inch; but it went against my stomach to draw the carcass off the bed, where it lay still bleeding. I observed it had yet some life, but with a strong slash across the neck, I thoroughly dispatched it.

Soon after, my mistress came into the room, who seeing me all bloody, ran and took me up in her hand. I pointed to the dead rat, smiling, and making other signs, to show I was not hurt; whereat she was extremely rejoiced, calling the maid to take up the dead rat with a pair of tongs, and throw it out of the window. Then she set me on a table, where I showed her my hanger all bloody, and wiping it on the lappet of my coat, returned it to the scabbard. I was pressed to do more than one thing which another could not do for me, and therefore endeavoured to make my mistress understand that I desired to be set down on the floor; which after she had done, my bashfulness would not suffer me to express myself further, than by pointing to the door, and bowing several times. The good woman, with much difficulty, at last perceived what I would be at, and taking me up again in her hand, walked into the garden, where she set me down. I went on one side about two hundred yards, and beckoning to her not to look or to follow me, I hid myself between two leaves of sorrel, and there discharged the necessities of nature.

I hope the gentle reader will excuse me for dwelling on those and the like particulars, which, however insignificant they may appear to the grovelling vulgar minds, yet will certainly help a philosopher to enlarge his thoughts and

imagination, and apply them to the benefit of public as private life, which was my sole design in presenting this, and other accounts of my travels, to the world; wherein I have been chiefly studious of truth, without affecting any ornaments of learning or of style. But the whole scene of this voyage made so strong an impression on my mind, and is so deeply fixed in my memory, that in committing it to paper I did not omit one material circumstance; however, upon a strict review, I blotted out several passages of less moment, which were in my first copy, for fear of being censured as tedious and trifling, whereof travellers are often, perhaps not without justice, accused.

CHAPTER II.

A description of the farmer's daughter—The author carried to a market town, and then to the Metropolis—The particulars of his journey.

My mistress had a daughter of nine years old, a child of towardly parts for her age, very dexterous at her needle, and skilful in dressing her baby. Her mother and she contrived to fit up a baby's cradle for me against night: the cradle was put into a small drawer of a cabinet, and the drawer placed upon a hanging shelf for fear of the rats. This was my bed all the time I stayed with those people, though made more convenient by degrees, as I began to learn their language and make my wants known. This young girl was so handy, that after I had once or twice pulled off my clothes before her, she was able to dress and undress me, though I never gave her that trouble when she would let me do either myself. She made me seven shirts, and some other linen, of as fine cloth as could be got, which indeed was coarser than sack-cloth; and these she constantly washed for me with her own hands. She was likewise my school-mistress, to teach me the language; when I pointed to any thing, she told me the name of it in her own tongue, so that in a few days I was able to call for whatever I had a mind to. She was very good-natured, and not above forty feet high, being little for her age. She gave me the name of *Grildrig*, which the family took up, and afterwards the whole kingdom. The word imports what the Latins call *nanunculus*, the Italian

Homunculetino, and the English *manikin*. To her I chiefly owe my preservation in that country; we never parted while I was there; I called her my *Glumdalclitch*, or little nurse and should be guilty of great ingratitude, if I omitted this honourable mention of her care and affection towards me, which I heartily wish it lay in my power to requite as she deserves, instead of being the innocent, but unhappy instrument of her disgrace, as I have too much reason to fear.

It now began to be known and talked of in the neighbourhood, that my master had found a strange animal in the field, about the bigness of a *splacnuck*, but exactly shaped in every part like a human creature; which it also imitated in all its actions; seemed to speak in a little language of his own, had already learned several words of theirs, went erect upon two legs, was tame and gentle, would come when it was called, do whatever it was bid, had the finest limbs in the world, and a complexion fairer than a nobleman's daughter of three years old. Another farmer, who lived hard by, and was a particular friend of my master, came on a visit on purpose to inquire into the truth of this story. I was immediately produced, and placed upon a table, where I walked as I was commanded, drew my hanger, put it up again, made my reverence to my master's guest, asked him in his own language how he did, and told him *he was welcome*, just as my little nurse had instructed me. This man, who was old and dim-sighted, put on his spectacles to behold me better; at which I could not forbear laughing very heartily, for his eyes appeared like the full moon shining into a chamber at two windows. Our people, who discovered the cause of my mirth, bore me company in laughing, at which the old fellow was fool enough to be angry, and out of countenance. He had the character of a great miser; and, to my misfortune, he well deserved it, by the cursed advice he gave my master, to show me as a sight upon a market-day in the next town, which was half an

hour's riding, about two and twenty miles from our house. I guessed there was some mischief contriving, when I observed my master and his friend whispering long together, sometimes pointing at me ; and my fears made me fancy that I overheard and understood some of their words. But the next morning Glumdalclitch, my little nurse, told me the whole matter, which she had cunningly picked out of her mother. The poor girl laid me on her bosom, and fell a-weeping with shame and grief. She apprehended some mischief would happen to me from rude vulgar folks, who might squeeze me to death, or break one of my limbs by taking me in their hands. She had also observed how modest I was in my nature, how nicely I regarded my honour, and what an indignity I should conceive it to be exposed for money as a public spectacle to the meanest of the people. She said, her papa and mamma had promised that Grildrig should be hers ; but now she found they meant to serve her as they did last year, when they pretended to give her a lamb, and yet, as soon as it was fat, sold it to a butcher. For my own part I may truly affirm, that I was less concerned than my nurse. I had a strong hope, which never left me, that I should one day recover my liberty ; and as to the ignominy of being carried about for a monster, I considered myself to be a perfect stranger in the country, and that such a misfortune could never be charged upon me as a reproach, if ever I should return to England ; since the king of Great Britain himself, in my condition, must have undergone the same distress.

My master, pursuant to the advice of his friend, carried me in a box the next market-day to the neighbouring town, and took along with him his little daughter, my nurse, upon a pillion behind him. The box was close on every side, with a little door for me to go in and out, and a few gimlet holes to let in air. The girl had been so careful as to put the quilt of her baby's bed into it, for me to lie down on. However,

I was terribly shaken and discomposed in this journey, though it were* but of half an hour, for the horse went about forty feet at every step, and trotted so high, that the agitation was equal to the rising and falling of a ship in a great storm, but much more frequent. Our journey was somewhat farther than from London to St. Albans. My master alighted at an inn which he used to frequent; and after consulting awhile with the inkeeper, and making some necessary preparations, he hired the *grultrud*, or crier, to give notice through the town, of a strange creature to be seen at the sign of the Green Eagle, not so big as a *splacnuck* (an animal in that country very finely shaped, about six feet long), and in every part of the body resembling a human creature, could speak several words, and perform a hundred diverting tricks.

I was placed upon a table in the largest room of the inn, which might be near three hundred feet square. My little nurse stood on a low stool close to the table, to take care of me, and direct what I should do. My master, to avoid a crowd, would suffer only thirty people at a time to see me. I walked about on the table as the girl commanded: she asked me questions, as far as she knew my understanding of the language reached, and I answered them as loud as I could. I turned about several times to the company, paid my humble respects, said *they were welcome*, and used some other speeches I had been taught. I took up a thimble filled with liquor, which Glumdalclitch had given me for a cup, and drank their health. I drew out my hanger, and flourished with it after the manner of fencers in England. My nurse gave me a part of a straw, which I exercised as a pike, having learnt the art in my youth. I was that day shown to twelve sets of company, and as often forced to act over again the same fopperies, till I was half dead with weariness and vexation; for those

* The subjunctive mood is improperly used here; it should have been the indicative "though it was," instead of "though it were."—*Sheridan*.

who had seen me made such wonderful reports, the good people were ready to break down the doors to come. My master, for his own interest, would not suffer any one to touch me except my nurse; and to prevent danger, benches were set round the table at such a distance as to put me out of everybody's reach. However, an unlucky school-boy aimed a hazel-nut directly at my head, which very narrowly missed me; otherwise it came with so much violence, that it would infallibly knocked out my brains, for it was almost as large as a small pumpion; but I had the satisfaction to see the young rogue well beaten, and turned out of the room.

My master gave public notice that he would show me again the next market-day; and in the mean time he prepared a more convenient vehicle for me, which he had reason enough to do; for I was so tired with my first journey, and with entertaining company for eight hours together, that I could hardly stand upon my legs, or speak a word. It was at least three days before I recovered my strength; and that I might have no rest at home, all the neighbouring gentlemen from a hundred miles round, hearing of my fame, came to see me at my master's own house. There could not be fewer than thirty persons, with their wives and children (for the country is very populous); and my master demanded the rate of a full room whenever he showed me at home, although it were only to a single family; so that for some time, I had but little ease every every day of the week (except Wednesday, which is their Sabbath), although I was not carried to the town.

My master finding how profitable I was likely to be, resolved to carry me to the most considerable cities of the

* The passion for shows and sight-seeing was never at a greater height in England than during the reign of George I.; and the wags of the day derived great amusement from practising on the credulity of the people. Immense crowds assembled to see a man creep into a quart bottle, and when they discovered that they had been deceived, were near destroying the house in their rage. Swift's works contain several amusing parodies of the puffing placards in which these exhibitions were announced.

kingdom. Having, therefore, provided himself with all things necessary for a long journey, and settled his affairs at home, he took leave of his wife, and upon the 17th of August, 1703, about two months after my arrival, we set out for the metropolis, situate near the middle of that empire, and about three thousand miles' distance from our house. My master made his daughter Glumdalclitch ride behind him. She carried me on her lap, in a box tied about her waist. The girl had lined it on all sides with the softest cloth she could get, well quilted underneath, furnished it with her baby's bed, provided me with linen and other necessaries, and made every thing as convenient as she could. We had no other company but a boy of the house, who rode after us with the luggage.

My master's design was to show me in all the towns by the way, and to step out of the road, for fifty or a hundred miles, to any village or person of quality's house, where he might expect custom. We made easy journeys, of not above seven or eight score miles a-day; for Glumdalclitch, on purpose to spare me, complained she was tired with the trotting of the horse. She often took me out of my box, at my own desire, to give me air, and show me the country, but always held me fast by a leading-string. We passed over five or six rivers, many degrees broader and deeper than the Nile or the Ganges; and there was hardly a rivulet so small as the Thames at London Bridge. We were ten weeks in our journey, and I was shown in eighteen large towns, besides many villages, and private families.

On the 26th day of October we arrived at the metropolis, called in their language *Lorbrulgrud*, or Pride of the Universe. My master took a lodging in the principal street of the city, not far from the royal palace, and put out bills in the usual form, containing an exact description of my person and parts. He hired a large room between three and four hundred feet wide. He provided a table sixty feet in

diameter, upon which I was to act my part, and palisadoed it round three feet from the edge, and as many high, to prevent my falling over. I was shown ten times a day, to the wonder and satisfaction of all people. I could now speak the language tolerably well, and perfectly understood every word that was spoken to me. Besides, I had learnt their alphabet, and could make shift to explain a sentence here and there; for Glumdalclitch had been my instructor while we were at home, and at leisure hours during our journey. She carried a little book in her pocket, not much larger than a Sanson's Atlas; it was a common treatise for the use of young girls, giving a short account of their religion; out of this she taught me my letters, and interpreted the words.

CHAPTER III.

The author sent for to court—The queen buys him of his master the farmer, and presents him to the king—He disputes with his majesty's great scholars—An apartment at court provided for the author—He is in high favour with the queen—He stands up for the honour of his own country—His quarrels with the queen's dwarf.

LABOURS such as I underwent every day, made, in a few weeks, a very considerable change in my health; the more my master got by me the more insatiable he grew. I had quite lost my stomach, and was almost reduced to a skeleton. The farmer observed it, and concluding I must soon die, resolved to make as good a hand of me as he could. While he was thus reasoning and resolving with himself, a *sardral*, or gentleman-usher, came from court, commanding my master to carry me immediately thither for the diversion of the queen and her ladies. Some of the latter had already been to see me, and reported strange things of my beauty, behaviour, and good sense. Her majesty, and those who attended her, were beyond measure delighted with my demeanour. I fell on my knees, and begged the honour of kissing her imperial foot; but this gracious princess held out her little finger towards me, after I was set on the table, which I embraced in both my arms, and put the tip of it with the utmost respect to my lip. She made me some general questions about my country and my travels, which I answered as distinctly, and in as few words as I could. She asked "whether I would be content to live at court?" I bowed down to the board of the table, and humbly

answered, "that I was my master's slave; but if I were at my own disposal, I should be proud to devote my life to her majesty's service." She then asked my master, "whether he was willing to sell me at a good price?" He, who apprehended I could not live a month, was ready enough to part with me, and demanded a thousand pieces of gold, which were ordered him on the spot, each piece being about the bigness of eight hundred moidores; but allowing for the proportion of all things between that country and Europe, and the high price of gold among them, was hardly so great a sum as a thousand guineas would be in England. I then said to the queen, "since I was now her majesty's most humble creature and vassal, I must beg the favour that Glumdalclitch, who had always tended me with so much care and kindness, and understood to do it so well, might be admitted into her service, and continue to be my nurse and instructor."

Her majesty agreed to my petition, and easily got the farmer's consent, who was glad enough to have his daughter preferred at court, and the poor girl herself was not able to hide her joy. My late master withdrew, bidding me farewell, and saying he had left me in a good service; to which I replied not a word, only making him a slight bow.

The queen observed my coldness, and, when the farmer was gone out of the apartment, asked me the reason. I made bold to tell her majesty, "that I owed no other obligation to my late master, than his not dashing out the brains of a poor harmless creature found by chance in his fields, which obligation was amply recompensed by the gain he had made in showing me through half the kingdom, and the price he had now sold me for. That the life I had since led, was laborious enough to kill an animal of ten times my strength. That my health was much impaired by the continual drudgery of entertaining the rabble every hour of the day; and that, if my master had not thought my life in danger, her majesty would not have

got so cheap a bargain. But as I was out of all fear of being ill-treated, under the protection of so great and good an empress, the ornament of nature, the darling of the world, the delight of her subjects, the phoenix of the creation ; so I hoped my late master's apprehensions would appear to be groundless ; for I already found my spirits revive, by the influence of her most august presence."

This was the sum of my speech, delivered with great improprieties and hesitation. The latter part was altogether framed in the style peculiar to that people, whereof I learned some phrases from Glumdalclitch, while she was carrying me to court.

The queen, giving great allowance for my defectiveness in speaking, was, however, surprised at so much wit and good sense in so diminutive an animal. She took me in her own hand, and carried me to the king, who was then retired to his cabinet. His majesty, a prince of much gravity and austere countenance, not observing my shape at first view, asked the queen, after a cold manner, "how long it was since she grew fond of a *splacnuck*?" for such it seems he took me to be, as I lay upon my breast in her majesty's hand. But this princess, who has an infinite deal of wit and humor, set me gently on my feet upon the scrutoire, and commanded me to give his majesty an account of myself, which I did in a very few words, and Glumdalclitch, who attended at the cabinet door, and could not endure I should be out of her sight, being admitted, confirmed all that had passed from my arrival at her father's house.

The king, although he be as learned a person as any in his dominions, had been educated in the study of philosophy, and particularly mathematics ; yet when he observed my shape exactly, and saw me walk erect, before I began to speak, conceived I might be a piece of clock-work (which is in that country arrived to a very great perfection) contrived by some

ingenious artist. But when he heard my voice, and found what I delivered to be regular and rational, he could not conceal his astonishment. He was by no means satisfied with the relation I gave him of the manner I came into his kingdom, but thought it a story concerted between Glumdalclitch and her father, who had taught me a set of words to make me sell at a better price. Upon this imagination, he put several other questions to me, and still received rational answers, no otherwise defective than by a foreign accent, and an imperfect knowledge in the language, with some rustic phrases which I had learned at the farmer's house, and did not suit the polite style of a court.

His majesty sent for three great scholars, who were then in the weekly waiting, according to the custom of that country. These gentlemen, after they had awhile examined my shape with much nicety, were of different opinions concerning me. They all agreed that I could not be produced according to the regular laws of nature, because I was not framed with a capacity of preserving my life, either by swiftness, or climbing of trees, or digging holes in the earth. They observed by my teeth, which they viewed with great exactness, that I was a carnivorous animal; yet most quadrupeds being an overmatch for me, and field mice, with some others, too nimble, they could not imagine how I should be able to support myself unless I fed upon snails and other insects; which they offered, by many learned arguments,* to evince that I could not possibly do. (One of these virtuosi seemed to think that I might be an embryo, or abortive birth.) But this opinion was rejected by the other two, who observed my limbs to be perfect and finished, and that I had lived several years, as it was manifest

* By this reasoning the author probably intended to ridicule the pride of those philosophers, who have thought fit to arraign the wisdom of Providence in the creation and government of the world; whose cavils are specious, like those of the Brobdingnagian sages only in proportion to the ignorance of those to whom they are proposed.—*Hawkesworth*.

from my beard, the stumps whereof they plainly discovered through a magnifying-glass. They would not allow me to be a dwarf, because my littleness was beyond all degrees of comparison; for the queen's favourite dwarf, the smallest ever known in that kingdom, was near thirty feet high. After much debate, they concluded unanimously that I was only *relplum scalclath*, which is interpreted literally *lusus naturæ*; a determination exactly agreeable to the modern philosophy of Europe, whose professors, disdaining the old evasion of occult causes, whereby the followers of Aristotle endeavoured in vain to disguise their ignorance, have invented this wonderful solution of all difficulties, to the unspeakable advancement of human knowledge.

After this decisive conclusion, I entreated to be heard a word or two. I applied myself to the king, and assured his majesty, "that I came from a country which abounded with several millions of both sexes, and of my own stature; where the animals, trees, and houses, were all in proportion, and where, by consequence, I might be as able to defend myself and to find sustenance, as any of his majesty's subjects could do here; which I took for a full answer to those gentlemen's arguments." To this they only replied with a smile of contempt, saying, "that the farmer had instructed me very well in my lesson."* The king, who had a much better understanding, dismissing his learned men, sent for the farmer, who by good fortune was not yet gone out of town.† Having, therefore, first examined him privately, and then confronted him with me and the young girl, his majesty began to think

* This satire is levelled against all who reject those facts for which they cannot perfectly account, notwithstanding the absurdity of rejecting the testimony by which they are supported.—*Hawkesworth*.

† Sir Walter Scott thinks that Swift has designedly introduced some traits of William III.'s character in the sketch of the king of Brobdingnag; but if any thing more than the ideal of a patriot monarch is designed, it is probable that the Dean had an eye to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II., from whom the Tories had formed favorable anticipations.

that what we told him might possibly be true. He desired the queen to order that a particular care should be taken of me; and was of opinion that Glumdalclitch should still continue in her office of tending me, because he observed we had a great affection for each other. A convenient apartment was provided for her at court; she had a sort of governess appointed to take care of her education, a maid to dress her, and two other servants for menial offices; but the care of me was wholly appropriated to herself. The queen commanded her own cabinetmaker to contrive a box, that might serve me for a bed-chamber, after the model that Glumdalclitch and I should agree upon. This man was a most ingenious artist, and according to my direction, in three weeks, finished for me a wooden chamber of sixteen feet square, and twelve high, with sash windows, a door and two closets, like a London bed-chamber. The board, that made the ceiling, was to be lifted up and down by two hinges, to put in a bed ready furnished by her majesty's upholsterer, which Glumdalclitch took out every day to air, made it with her own hands, and letting it down at night, locked up the roof over me. A nice workman, who was famous for little curiosities, undertook to make me two chairs, with backs and frames of a substance not unlike ivory, and two tables with a cabinet to put my things in. The room was quilted on all sides, as well as the floor and ceiling, to prevent any accident from the carelessness of those who carried me, and to break the force of a jolt, when I went in a coach. I desired a lock for my door, to prevent rats and mice from coming in. The smith, after several attempts, made the smallest that ever was seen among them, for I have known a larger at the gate of a gentleman's house in England.* I made a shift to keep the

* Swift's frequent references to proportions, both here and in the *Voyage to Lilliput*, give an air of probability to his story which none of his imitators have been able to attain.

key in a pocket of my own, fearing Glumdalclitch might lose it. The queen likewise ordered the thinnest silks that could be gotten, to make me clothes, not much thicker than an English blanket, very cumbersome till I was accustomed to them. They were after the fashion of the kingdom, partly resembling the Persian, and partly the Chinese, and are a very grave and decent habit.

The queen became so fond of my company, that she could not dine without me. I had a table placed upon the same at which her majesty eat, just at her elbow, and a chair to sit on. Glumdalclitch stood on a stool on the floor near my table, to assist and take care of me. I had an entire set of silver dishes and plates, and other necessaries, which, in proportion to those of the queen, were not much bigger than what I have seen in a London toy-shop, for the furniture of a baby-house: these my little nurse kept in her pocket in a silver box, and gave me at meals as I wanted them, always cleaning them herself. No person dined with the queen but the two princesses royal, the elder sixteen years old, and the younger at that time thirteen and a month. Her majesty used to put a bit of meat upon one of my dishes, out of which I carved for myself, and her diversion was to see me eat in miniature; for the queen (who had indeed but a weak stomach) took up, at one mouthful, as much as a dozen English farmers could eat at a meal, which to me was for some time a very nauseous sight. She would craunch the wing of a lark, bones and all, between her teeth, although it were nine times as large as that of a full-grown turkey; and put a bit of bread in her mouth, as big as two twelpenny-loaves. She drank out of a golden cup, above a hogshead at a draught. Her knives were twice as long as a scythe set straight upon the handle. The spoons, forks, and other instruments, were all in the same proportion. I remember when Glumdalclitch carried me, out of curiosity, to see some of the tables at court,

where ten or a dozen of those enormous knives and forks were lifted up together, I thought I had never till then beheld so terrible a sight.

It is the custom, that every Wednesday (which, as I have observed, is their sabbath), the king and queen, with the royal issue of both sexes, dine together in the apartment of his majesty, to whom I was now become a great favourite; and at these times, my little chair and table were placed at his left hand, before one of his salt-cellars. This prince took a pleasure in conversing with me, inquiring into the manners, religion, laws, government, and learning of Europe, wherein I gave him the best account I was able. His apprehension was so clear, and his judgment so exact, that he made very wise reflections and observations upon all I said. But I confess, that after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved country, of our trade and wars by sea and land, of our schisms in religion, and parties in the state, the prejudices of his education prevailed so far, that he could not forbear taking me up in his right hand, and, stroking me gently with the other, after a hearty fit of laughing, asked me whether I was a whig or tory? Then turning to his first minister, who waited behind him with a white staff, near as tall as the main-mast of the Royal Sovereign, he observed, "how contemptible a thing was human grandeur which could be mimicked by such diminutive insects as I; and yet," says he, "I dare engage these creatures have their titles and distinctions of honour; they contrive little nests and burrows, that they call houses and cities; they make a figure and dress in equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat, they betray." And thus he continued on, while my colour came and went several times, with indignation, to hear our noble country, the mistress of arts and arms, the scourge of France, the arbitress of Europe, the seat of virtue, piety, honour, and truth, the pride and envy of the world, so contemptuously treated.*

* These boasts, which have been the common-places of party during the last two

But as I was not in a condition to resent injuries, so upon mature thoughts I began to doubt whether I was injured or no.* For, after having been accustomed several months to the sight and converse of this people, and observed every object upon which I cast mine eyes to be of proportionable magnitude, the horror I had at first conceived from their bulk and aspect, was so far worn off, that if I had then beheld a company of English lords and ladies in their finery and birthday clothes, acting their several parts in the most courtly manner of strutting, and bowing, and prating; to say the truth, I should have been strongly tempted to laugh as much at them, as the king and his grandees did at me. Neither, indeed, could I forbear smiling at myself, when the queen used to place me upon her hand towards a looking-glass, by which both our persons appeared before me in full view together; and there could be nothing more ridiculous than the comparison; so that I really began to imagine myself dwindled many degrees below my usual size.

Nothing angered and mortified me so much as the queen's dwarf; who, being of the lowest stature that was ever in that country (for I verily think he was not full thirty feet high), became so insolent at seeing a creature so much beneath him, that he would always affect to swagger and look big as he passed by me in the queen's antechamber, while I was standing on some table talking with the lords or ladies of the court, and he seldom failed of a smart word or two upon my littleness; against which I could only revenge myself by calling him brother, challenging him to wrestle, and such repartees

centuries, are rendered supremely ridiculous by their contrast with the speech of the king of Brobdingnag.

*“Whether I was injured or no.”—This vulgar and ungrammatical mode of expression has become almost universal; but instead of “no” the particle “not” should be used. The absurdity of the former will appear by only repeating the word to which it refers, and annexing to it, as thus—“whether I were injured, or no injured,” whereas, whether I were injured, or not injured, is good grammar—*Sheridan*.

as are usually in the mouths of court pages. One day at dinner, this malicious little cub was so nettled with something I had said to him, that, raising himself upon the frame of her majesty's chair, he took me up by the middle, as I was sitting down, not thinking any harm, and let me drop into a large silver bowl of cream, and then ran away as fast as he could. I fell over head and ears, and if I had not been a good swimmer it might have gone very hard with me; for Glumdalclitch in that instant happened to be at the other end of the room, and the queen was in such a fright that she wanted presence of mind to assist me. But my little nurse ran to my relief, and took me out, after I had swallowed above a quart of cream. I was put to bed; however I received no other damage than the loss of a suit of clothes, which was utterly spoiled. The dwarf was soundly whipped, and as a farther punishment, forced to drink up the bowl of cream into which he had thrown me; neither was he ever restored to favor; for soon after the queen bestowed him on a lady of high quality, so that I saw him no more, to my very great satisfaction; for I could not tell to what extremity such a malicious urchin might have carried his resentment.

He had before served me a scurvy trick, which set the queen a-laughing, although at the same time she was heartily vexed, and would have immediately cashiered him, if I had not been so generous as to intercede. Her majesty had taken a marrow-bone upon her plate, and, after knocking out the marrow, placed the bone again on the dish erect, as it stood before; the dwarf, watching his opportunity, while Glumdalclitch was gone to the sideboard, mounted the stool that she stood on to take care of me at meals, took me up in both hands, and squeezing my legs together, wedged them into the marrow-bone above my waist, where I stuck for some time, and made a very ridiculous figure. I believe it was near a minute before any one knew what was become of me.

for I thought it below me to cry out. But, as princes seldom get their meat hot, my legs were not scalded, only my stockings and breeches in a sad condition. The dwarf, at my entreaty, had no other punishment than a sound whipping.

I was frequently rallied by the queen upon account of my fearfulness; and she used to ask me whether the people of my country were as great cowards as myself? The occasion was this; the kingdom is much pestered with flies in summer; and these odious insects, each of them as big as a Dunstable lark, hardly gave me any rest while I sat at dinner, with their continual humming and buzzing about mine ears. They would sometimes alight upon my victuals, and leave their loathsome excrement or spawn behind, which to me was very visible, though not to the natives of that country, whose larger optics were not so acute as mine in viewing smaller objects. Sometimes they would fix upon my nose or forehead, where they stung me to the quick, smelling very offensively; and I could easily trace that viscous matter, which, our naturalists tell us, enables those creatures to walk with their feet upwards upon a ceiling. I had much ado to defend myself against these detestable animals, and could not forbear starting when they came on my face. It was the common practice of the dwarf, to catch a number of these insects in his hand, as school-boys do among us, and let them out suddenly under my nose, on purpose to frighten me, and divert the queen. My remedy was to cut them in pieces with my knife, as they flew in the air, wherein my dexterity was much admired.

I remember one morning, when Glumdalclitch had set me in a box upon a window, as she usually did in fair days to give me air (for I durst not venture to let the box be hung on a nail out of the window, as we do with cages in England) after I had lifted up one of my sashes, and sat down at my table to eat a piece of sweet cake for my breakfast, above

twenty wasps, allured by the smell, came flying into the room, humming louder than the drones of as many bagpipes. Some of them seized my cake, and carried it piece-meal away; others flew about my head and face, confounding me with the noise, and putting me in the utmost terror of their stings. However, I had the courage to rise and draw my hanger, and attack them in the air. I despatched four of them, but the rest got away, and I presently shut my window. These insects were as large as partridges; I took out their stings, found them an inch and a half long, and as sharp as needles. I carefully preserved them all; and having since shown them, with some other curiosities, in several parts of Europe; upon my return to England I gave three of them to Gresham College, and kept the fourth for myself.

CHAPTER IV.

The country described—A proposal for correcting modern maps—The king's palace, and some account of the metropolis—The author's way of travelling—The chief temple described.

JOURNEYS with Glumdalclitch having given me some knowledge of the country, I now intend to give the reader a short description of it, as far as I travelled, which was not above two thousand miles round Lorbrulgrud, the metropolis. For the queen, whom I always attended, never went farther when she accompanied the king in his progress, and there stayed till his majesty returned from viewing his frontiers. The whole extent of this prince's dominions reaches about six thousand miles in length, and from three to five in breadth; whence I cannot but conclude, that our geographers of Europe are in a great error, by supposing nothing but sea between Japan and California; for it was ever my opinion, that there must be a balance of earth to counterpoise the great continent of Tartary; and therefore they ought to correct their maps and charts, by joining this vast tract of land to the north-west parts of America, wherein I shall be ready to lend them my assistance.

The kingdom is a peninsula, terminated to the north-east by a ridge of mountains thirty miles high, which are altogether impassable, by reason of the volcanoes upon the tops: neither do the most learned know what sort of mortals inhabit beyond those mountains, or whether they be inhabited at all. On

the three other sides, it is bounded by the ocean. There is not one seaport in the whole kingdom; and those parts of the coasts into which the rivers issue, are so full of pointed rocks, and the sea generally so rough, that there is no venturing with the smallest of their boats; so that these people are wholly excluded from any commerce with the rest of the world.* But the large rivers are full of vessels, and abound with excellent fish: for they seldom get any from the sea, because the sea-fish are of the same size with those in Europe, and consequently not worth catching; whereby it is manifest, that nature, in the production of plants and animals of so extraordinary a bulk, is wholly confined to this continent, of which I leave the reasons to be determined by philosophers. However, now and then they take a whale that happens to be dashed against the rocks, which the common people feed on heartily. These whales I have known so large, that a man could hardly carry one upon his shoulders; and sometimes, for curiosity, they are brought in hampers to Lorbrulgrud: I saw one of them in a dish at the king's table, which passed for a rarity, but I did not observe he was fond of it; for I think, indeed, the bigness disgusted him, although I have seen one somewhat larger in Greenland.

The country is well inhabited, for it contains fifty-one cities, near a hundred walled towns, and a great number of villages.

* This description of a sea that could not be safely navigated appears to have been taken from that veracious traveller, Sir J. Mandeville. "From the land of Bactry, men go many days' journey to the land of Prester John, that is a great emperor of Inde; and men call his land the yle of Pantoxore. . . . There are many places in the sea where are many rockes of a stone that is called adamand, the which of his own kinde draweth all manner of yron, and therefore there may be no ships that hath yron nayles pass but it draweth them to him, and therefore they dare not go into that country with ships for fear of adamand. I went once into that sea, and saw along as it had been a great yle of trees stockes and branches growinge, and the shipman told me that those were of greate shippes that abode there through the vertue of the adamandes, and of things that were in the shippes, whereof those trees sprung and waxed."

To satisfy my curious reader, it may be sufficient to describe Lorbrulgrud. This city stands upon almost two equal parts, on each side the river that passes through. It contains above eighty thousand houses, and about six hundred thousand inhabitants. It is length three *glomglungs* (which make about fifty-four English miles), and two and a half in breadth; as I measured it myself in the royal map made by the king's order, which was laid on the ground on purpose for me, and extended a hundred feet: I paced the diameter and circumference several times barefoot, and computing by the scale measured it pretty exactly.

The king's palace is no regular edifice, but a heap of building about seven miles round: the chief rooms are generally two hundred and forty feet high, and broad and long in proportion. A coach was allowed to Glumdalclitch and me, wherein her governess frequently took her out to see the town or go among the shops; and I was always of the party, carried in my box; although the girl, at my own desire, would often take me out and hold me in her hand, that I might more conveniently view the houses and the people, as we passed along the streets. I reckoned our coach to be about a square of Westminster Hall, but not altogether so high: however, I cannot be very exact. One day the governess ordered our coachman to stop at several shops, where the beggars, watching their opportunity, crowded to the sides of the coach, and gave me the most horrible spectacle that ever an European eye beheld. There was a woman with a cancer in her breast, swelled to a monstrous size, full of holes, in two or three of which I could have easily crept, and covered my whole body. There was a fellow with a wen on his neck, larger than five woollen packs; and another with a couple of wooden legs, each about twenty feet high. But the most hateful sight of all was the lice crawling on their clothes. I could see distinctly the limbs of these vermin with my naked

eye, much better than those of a European louse through a microscope, and their snouts with which they rooted like swine. They were the first I had ever beheld, and I should have been curious enough to dissect one of them, if I had had proper instruments, which I unluckily left behind me in the ship, although, indeed, the sight was so nauseous that it perfectly turned my stomach.

Besides the large box in which I was usually carried, the queen ordered a smaller one to be made for me, of about twelve feet square, and ten high, for the convenience of travelling; because the other was somewhat too large for Glumdalclitch's lap, and cumbersome in the coach, it was made by the same artist, whom I directed in the whole contrivance. This travelling closet was an exact square, with a window in the middle of three of the squares, and each window was latticed with iron wire on the outside, to prevent accidents in long journeys. On the fourth side, which had no window, two strong staples were fixed, through which the person that carried me, when I had a mind to be on horseback, put a leathern belt and buckled it about his waist. This was always the office of some grave trusty servant, in whom I could confide, whether I attended the king and queen in their progresses, or were disposed to see the gardens, or pay a visit to some great lady or minister of state in the court, when Glumdalclitch happened to be out of order; for I soon began to be known and esteemed among the greatest officers, I suppose more upon account of their majesties' favour, than any merit of my own. In journeys, when I was weary of the coach, a servant on horseback would buckle on my box, and place it upon a cushion before him; and there I had a full prospect of the country on three sides, from my three windows. I had, in this closet, a field-bed, and a hammock hung from the ceiling, two chairs, and a table, neatly screwed to the floor, to prevent being tossed about by the agitation of the

horse, or the coach. And having been long used to sea voyages, those motions, although sometimes very violent, did not much discompose me.

Whenever I had a mind to see the town, it was always in my travelling closet: which Glumdalclitch held in her lap in a kind of open sedan, after the fashion of the country, borne by four men, and attended by two others in the queen's livery. The people, who had often heard of me, were very curious to crowd about the sedan, and the girl was complaisant enough to make the bearers stop, and to take me in her hand that I might be more conveniently seen.

I was very desirous to see the chief temple, and particularly the tower belonging to it, which is reckoned the highest in the kingdom. Accordingly, one day my nurse carried me thither, but I may truly say I came back disappointed; for the height is not above three thousand feet, reckoning from the ground to the highest pinnacle top; which, allowing for the difference between the size of those people and us in Europe, is no great matter for admiration, nor at all equal in proportion (if I rightly remember) to Salisbury steeple. But, not to detract from a nation, to which, during my life I shall acknowledge myself extremely obliged, it must be allowed, that whatever this famous tower wants in height, is amply made up in beauty and strength; for the walls are near a hundred feet thick, built of hewn stone, whereof each is about forty feet square, and adorned on all sides with statues of gods and emperors, cut in marble, larger than the life, placed in their several niches. I measured a little finger which had fallen down from one of these statues, and lay unperceived among some rubbish, and found it exactly four feet and an inch in length.* Glumdalclitch wrapped it up

* Had Swift seen the colossal statuary of ancient Egypt, he would have found that it rivalled the imaginary sculpture of Brobdingnag. Belzoni has given the exact dimensions of the four stupendous figures which are seated side by side in front of the excavated temple of Ipsambul; each of them, though seated, measures

in her handkerchief, and carried it home in her pocket, to keep among other trinkets, of which the girl was very fond, as children at her age usually are.

The king's kitchen is, indeed, a noble building, vaulted at top, and about six hundred feet high. The great oven is not so wide, by ten paces, as the cupola at St. Paul's; for I measured the latter on purpose, after my return. But if I should describe the kitchen grate, the prodigious pots and kettles, the joints of meat turning on the spits, with many other particulars, perhaps I should be hardly believed; at least a severe critic would be apt to think I enlarged a little, as travellers are often suspected to do. To avoid which censure, I fear I have run too much into the other extreme, and that if this treatise should happen to be translated into the language of Brobdingnag (which is the general name of that kingdom), and transmitted thither, the king and his people would have reason to complain that I had done them an injury, by a false and diminutive representation.*

His majesty seldom keeps above six hundred horses in his stables; they are generally from fifty-four to sixty feet high. But, when he goes abroad on solemn days, he is attended, for state, by a militia guard of five hundred horse, which, indeed, I thought was the most splendid sight that could be ever beheld, till I saw part of his army in battalia, whereof I shall find another occasion to speak.

sixty-four feet from the ground to the top of the cap: the arm, from the shoulder to the elbow, measures fifteen feet and a half, the ear three feet and a half, and the chest, across the shoulders, twenty-five feet four inches. Yet the great Sphinx is half as large again as these. Among the Egyptian antiquities there is a colossal fist, probably belonging to a sphinx: were the hand opened, the finger would be nearly of the size of that which Glumdalclitch is said to have picked up.

* Lord Orrery has directed attention to the air of probability which Swift's minute attention to proportions, and his reference to familiar objects as a standard, give to his account of Lilliput. The same tact is not less observable in the account of Brobdingnag, and particularly in the comparison of the royal kitchen with the cupola of St. Paul's; perhaps also Swift intended to hint that St. Paul's, however splendid as an edifice, does not, like the gothic cathedrals, immediately suggest that it was erected for religious purposes.

CHAPTER V.

Several adventures that happened to the author—The execution of a criminal—The author shows his skill in navigation.

JUSTLY may I say, that I should have lived happy enough in the country, if my littleness had not exposed me to several ridiculous and troublesome accidents; some of which I shall venture to relate. Glumdalclitch often carried me into the gardens of the court in my smaller box, and would sometimes take me out of it, and hold me in her hand, or set me down to walk. I remember, before the dwarf left the queen, he followed us one day into those gardens, and my nurse having set me down, he and I being close together, near some dwarf apple-trees, I must need show my wit, by a silly allusion between him and the trees, which happened to hold in their language as it does in ours. Whereupon, the malicious rogue, watching his opportunity, when I was walking under one of them, shook it directly over my head, by which a dozen apples, each of them near as large as a Bristol barrel, came tumbling about my ears; one of them hit me on the back as I chanced to stoop, and knocked me down flat on my face; but I received no other hurt, and the dwarf was pardoned at my desire, because I had given the provocation.

Another day, Glumdalclitch left me on a smooth grass-plot to divert myself, while she walked at some distance with her governess. In the mean time there suddenly fell such a violent shower of hail, that I was immediately, by the force of it,

struck to the ground; and when I was down, the hailstones gave me such cruel bangs all over the body, as if I had been pelted with tennis-balls; however, I made a shift to creep on all fours, and shelter myself, by lying flat on my face, on the lee-side of a border of lemon-thyme; but so bruised from head to foot, that I could not go abroad in ten days. Neither is that at all to be wondered at, because nature, in that country, observing the same proportion through all her operations, a hailstone is near eighteen hundred times as large as one in Europe which I can assert upon experience, having been so curious* to weigh and measure them.

But a more dangerous accident happened to me in the same garden, when my little nurse, believing she had put me in a secure place (which I often entreated her to do, that I might enjoy my own thoughts), and having left my box at home, to avoid the trouble of carrying it, went to another part of the garden with her governess and some ladies of her acquaintance. While she was absent, and out of hearing, a small white spaniel that belonged to one of the chief gardeners, having got by accident into the garden, happened to range near the place where I lay; the dog, following the scent, came directly up, and taking me in his mouth, ran straight to his master wagging his tail, and set me gently on the ground. By good fortune he had been so well taught, that I was carried between his teeth without the least hurt, or even tearing my clothes. But the poor gardener, who knew me well, and had a great kindness for me, was in a terrible fright: he gently took me up in both his hands, and asked me how I did; but I was so amazed and out of breath, that I could not speak a word. In a few minutes I came to myself, and he carried me safe to my little nurse, who, by this time, had returned to the place where she left me, and was in cruel agonies when I did not appear, nor

* The particle "as," is here improperly omitted; it should be, so curious "as" to weigh, etc.—*Sheridan*

answer when she called. She severely reprimanded the gardener on account of his dog. But the thing was hushed up, and never known at court, for the girl was afraid of the queen's anger; and truly, as to myself, I thought it would not be for my reputation that such a story should go about.

This accident absolutely determined Glumdalclitch never to trust me abroad for the future out of her sight. I had been long afraid of this resolution, and therefore concealed from her some little unlucky adventures, that happened in those times when I was left by myself. Once a kite, hovering over the garden, made a stoop at me, and if I had not resolutely drawn my hanger, and run under a thick espalier, he would have certainly carried me away in his talons. Another time, walking to the top of a fresh molehill, I fell to my neck in the hole, through which that animal had cast up the earth, and coined some lie, not worth remembering, to excuse myself for spoiling my clothes. I likewise broke my right shin against the shell of a snail, which I happened to stumble over, as I was walking alone and thinking of poor England.

I cannot tell whether I were more pleased or mortified to observe, in those solitary walks, that the smaller birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me, but would hop about within a yard's distance, looking for worms and other food, with as much indifference and security as if no creature at all were near them. I remember, a thrush had the confidence to snatch out of my hand, with his bill, a piece of cake that Glumdalclitch had just given me for my breakfast. When I attempted to catch any of these birds, they would boldly turn against me, endeavouring to peck my fingers, which I durst not venture within their reach; and then they would hop back unconcerned, to hunt for worms or snails, as they did before. But one day, I took a thick cudgel, and threw it with all my strength so luckily, at a linnet, that I knocked

him down, and seizing him by the neck with both my hands, ran with him in triumph to my nurse. However, the bird, who had only been stunned, recovering himself, gave me so many boxes with his wings, on both sides of my head and body, though I held him at arm's length, and was out of the reach of his claws, that I was twenty times thinking to let him go. But I was soon relieved by one of our servants, who wrung off the bird's neck, and I had him next day for dinner, by the queen's command. This linnet, as near as I can remember, seemed to be somewhat larger than an English swan.

The maids of honour often invited Glumdalclitch to their apartments, and desired that she would bring me along with her, on purpose to have the pleasure of seeing and touching me.* They would often strip me naked from top to toe, and lay me at full length in their bosoms, wherewith I was much disgusted; because, to say the truth, a very offensive smell came from their skins; which I do not mention or intend to the disadvantages of those excellent ladies, for whom I have all manner of respect; but I conceive that my sense was more acute in proportion to my littleness, and that those illustrious persons were no more disagreeable to their lovers, or to each other, than people of the same quality are with us in England. And after all, I found their natural smell was much more supportable than when they used perfumes, under which I immediately swooned away. I cannot forget, that an intimate friend of mine in Lilliput took the freedom in a warm day, when I had used a good deal of exercise, to complain of a

* Swift attributed his disappointment in his hopes of obtaining a bishopric from Queen Anne to the united influence of female intrigues and the remonstrances of Archbishop Sharpe. The Duchess of Somerset is said to have besought the queen on her knees not to grant him promotion, in revenge for a bitter lampoon, in which the character of the duchess was very roughly handled. Coarse as is the description here given of the maids of honour in the court of Brobdingnag, there is reason to believe that it has been much softened down from the original sketch.

strong smell about me, although I am as little faulty that way as most of my sex; but I suppose his faculty of smelling was as nice with regard to me, as mine was to that of this people. Upon this point I cannot forbear doing justice to the queen my mistress, and Glumdalclitch my nurse, whose persons were as sweet as those of any lady in England.

That which gave me most uneasiness among these maids of honour (when my nurse carried me to visit them) was, to see them use me without any manner of ceremony, like a creature who had no sort of concupiscence; for they would strip themselves to the skin, and put their smocks on in my presence, while I was placed on their toilet, directly before their naked bodies, which I am sure to me was very far from being a tempting sight, or from giving me any other emotions than those of horror and disgust; their skins appeared so coarse and uneven, so variously coloured, when I saw them near, with a mole here and there as broad as a trencher, and hairs hanging from it thicker than packthreads, to say nothing farther concerning the rest of their persons. Neither did they at all scruple, while I was by, to discharge what they had drank, to the quantity of at least two hogsheads, in a vessel that held above three tons. The handsomest among these maids of honour, a pleasant frolicksome girl of sixteen, would sometimes set me astride upon one of her nipples, with many other tricks, wherein the reader will excuse me for not being over particular. But I was so much displeased, that I entreated Glumdalclitch to contrive some excuse for not seeing that young lady any more.

One day, a young gentleman, who was nephew to my nurse's governess, came and pressed them both to see an execution. It was of a man, who had murdered one of that gentleman's intimate acquaintance. Glumdalclitch was prevailed on to be of the company, very much against her inclination, for she was naturally tender-hearted; and as for

myself, although I abhorred such kind of spectacles, yet my curiosity tempted me to see something that I thought must be extraordinary. The malefactor was fixed on a chair upon a scaffold erected for that purpose, and his head cut off at one blow, with a sword of about forty feet long. The veins and arteries spouted up such a prodigious quantity of blood, and so high in the air, that the great *jet d'eau* at Versailles was not equal* for the time it lasted; and the head, when it fell on the scaffold floor, gave such a bounce as made me start, although I were at least half an English mile distant.

The queen who often used to hear me talk of my sea-voyages, and took all occasions to divert me when I was melancholy, asked me whether I understood how to handle a sail or an oar, and whether a little exercise of rowing might not be convenient for my health? I answered that I understood both very well: for although my proper employment had been to be surgeon or doctor to the ship, yet often, upon a pinch, I was forced to work like a common mariner. But I could not see how this could be done in their country, where the smallest wherry was equal to a first-rate man-of-war among us; and such a boat as I could manage would never live in any of their rivers. Her majesty said, "If I would contrive a boat, her own joiner should make it, and she would provide a place for me to sail in." The fellow was an ingenious workman, and by instructions, in ten days, finished a pleasure boat, with all its tackling, able conveniently to hold eight Europeans. When it was finished, the queen was so delighted, that she ran with it in her lap, to the king, who ordered it to be put into a cistern full of water, with me in it, by way of trial; where I could not manage my two skulls, or little oars, for want of room. But the queen had before contrived another project. She ordered the joiner to make a wooden trough of three hundred feet long, fifty broad,

* It should be—"was not equal to it," etc."—*Sheridan*.

and eight deep: which being well pitched to prevent leaking, was placed on the floor along the wall, in an outer room of the palace. It had a cock near the bottom to let out the water, when it began to grow stale; and two servants could easily fill it in half an hour. Here I often used to row for my own diversion, as well as that of the queen and her ladies, who thought themselves well entertained with my skill and agility. Sometimes I would put up my sail, and then my business was only to steer, while the ladies gave me a gale with their fans; and when they were weary, some of their pages would blow my sail forward with their breath, while I showed my art by steering starboard or larboard as I pleased. When I had done, Glumdalclitch always carried back my boat into her closet, and hung it on a nail to dry.

In this exercise I once met an accident, which had like to have cost me my life; for, one of the pages having put my boat into the trough, the governess who attended Glumdalclitch very officiously lifted me up, to place me in the boat; but I happened to slip through her fingers, and should infallibly have fallen down forty feet, upon the floor, if, by the luckiest chance in the world, I had not been stopped by a corking-pin that stuck in the good gentlewoman's stomacher; the head of the pin passed between my shirt and the waistband of my breeches, and thus I was held by the middle in the air, till Glumdalclitch ran to my relief.

Another time, one of the servants, whose office it was to fill my trough every third day with fresh water, was so careless* to let a huge frog (not perceiving it) slip out of his pail. The frog lay concealed till I was put into my boat, but then, seeing a resting-place, climbed up, and made it lean so much on one side, that I was forced to balance it with all my weight on the other to prevent overturning. When the frog was got in, it hopped at once half the length of the boat, and

* It should be—"was so careless as to let."—*Sheridan*.

then over my head, backward and forward, daubing my face and clothes with its odious slime. The largeness of its features made it appear the most deformed animal that can be conceived. However, I desired Glumdalclitch to let me deal with it alone. I banged it a good while with one of my sculls, and at last forced it to leap out of the boat.

But the greatest danger I underwent in that kingdom, was from a monkey, who belonged to one of the clerks of the kitchen. Glumdalclitch had locked me up in her closet, while she went somewhere upon business, or a visit. The weather being very warm, the closet window was left open, as well as the windows and the door of my bigger box, in which I usually lived, because of its largeness and conveniency. As I sat quietly meditating at my table, I heard something bounce in at the closet-window, and skip about from one side to the other; whereat, although I was much alarmed, yet I ventured to look out, but not stirring from my seat; and then I saw this frolicsome animal frisking and leaping up and down till at last he came to my box, which he seemed to view with great pleasure and curiosity, peeping in at the door and every window. I retreated to the farther corner of my room, or box; but the monkey looking in at every side, put me into such a fright, that I wanted presence of mind to conceal myself under the bed, as I might easily have done. After some time spent in peeping, grinning, and chattering, he at last espied me; and reaching one of his paws in at the door, as a cat does when she plays with a mouse, although I often shifted place to avoid him, he at length seized the lappet of my coat (which being made of that country silk, was very thick and strong), and dragged me out. He took me up in his right fore-foot, and held me as a nurse does a child she is going to suckle, just as I have seen the same sort of creature do with a kitten in Europe; and when I offered to struggle, he squeezed me so hard, that I thought it more prudent to

submit. I have good reason to believe that he took me for a young one of his own species, by his often stroking my face very gently with his other paw. In these diversions he was interrupted by a noise at the closet door, as if somebody were opening it; whereupon he suddenly leaped up to the window, at which he had come in, and thence upon the leads and gutters, walking upon three legs, and holding me in the fourth, till he clambered up to a roof that was next to ours. I heard Glumdalclitch give a shriek the moment he was carrying me out. The poor girl was almost distracted; that quarter of the palace was all in an uproar; the servants ran for ladders; the monkey was seen by hundreds in the court, sitting upon the ridge of a building, holding me like a baby in one of his fore-paws, and feeding me with the other, by cramming into my mouth some victuals he had squeezed out of the bag on one side of his chaps, and patting me when I would not eat; whereat many of the rabble below could not forbear laughing; neither do I think they justly ought to be blamed, for, without question, the sight was ridiculous enough to everybody but myself. Some of the people threw up stones, hoping to drive the monkey down; but this was strictly forbidden, or else, very probably, my brains had been dashed out.

The ladders were now applied, and mounted by several men; which the monkey observing, and finding himself almost encompassed, not being able to make speed enough with his three legs, let me drop on a ridge tile, and made his escape. Here I sat for some time, five hundred yards from the ground, expecting every moment to be blown down by the wind, or to fall by my own giddiness, and come tumbling over and over from the ridge to the eaves: but an honest lad, one of my nurse's footmen, climbed up, and putting me into his breeches-pocket, brought me down safe.

I was almost choked with the filthy stuff the monkey had

crammed down my throat, but my dear little nurse picked it out of my mouth with a small needle, and then I fell a vomiting, which gave me great relief. Yet I was so weak and bruised in the side with the squeezes given me by this odious animal, that I was forced to keep my bed a fortnight. The king, queen, and all the court, sent every day to inquire after my health; and her majesty made me several visits during my sickness. The monkey was killed, and an order made that no such animal should be kept about the palace.

When I attended the king after my recovery, to return him thanks for his favours, he was pleased to rally me a good deal upon this adventure. He asked me, "what my thoughts and speculations were while I lay in the monkey's paw? how I liked the victuals he gave me? his manner of feeding? and whether the fresh air on the roof had sharpened my stomach?" He desired to know "what I would have done upon such an occasion in my own country?" I told his majesty, "that in Europe we had no monkeys except such as were brought for curiosities from other places, and so small that I could deal with a dozen of them together, if they presumed to attack me. And as for that monstrous animal, with whom I was so lately engaged (it was indeed as large as an elephant), if my fears had suffered me to think so far as to make use of my hanger (looking fiercely, and clapping my hand upon the hilt, as I spoke) when he poked his paw into my chamber, perhaps I should have given him such a wound, as would have made him glad to withdraw it, with more haste than he put it in." This I delivered in a firm tone, like a person who was jealous lest his courage should be called in question. However, my speech produced nothing else beside a loud laughter, which all the respect due to his majesty from those about him could not make them contain. (This made me reflect how vain an attempt it is for a man to endeavour to do himself honour among those who are out of all degree of equality or compar-

ison with him. And yet I have seen the moral of my own behaviour very frequent in England since my return; where a little contemptible varlet, without the least title to birth, person, wit, or common sense, shall presume to look with importance, and put himself upon a foot with the greatest persons of the kingdom.

I was every day furnishing the court with some ridiculous story; and Glumdalclitch, although she loved me to excess, yet was arch enough to inform the queen, whenever I committed any folly that she thought would be diverting to her majesty. The girl who had been out of order, was carried by her governess to take the air about an hour's distance, or thirty miles from town. They alighted out of the coach near a small footpath in a field, and Glumdalclitch setting down my travelling box, I went out of it to walk. There was a cow-dung in the path, and I must need try my activity by attempting to leap over it. I took a run, but unfortunately jumped short, and found myself just in the middle, up to my knees. I waded through with some difficulty, and one of the footmen wiped me as clean as he could with his handkerchief, for I was filthily bemired; and my nurse confined me to my box, till we returned home; where the queen was soon informed of what had passed, and the footmen spread it about the court: so that all the mirth for some days was at my expense.

CHAPTER VI.

Several contrivances of the author to please the king and queen—He shows his skill in music—The king inquires into the state of England, which the author relates to him—The king's observations thereon.

JOINED as I was to the court, I used to attend the king's levee, once or twice a week, and had often seen him under the barber's hand, which indeed was at first very terrible to behold; for the razor was almost twice as long as an ordinary scythe. His majesty, according to the custom of the country, was only shaved twice a-week. I once prevailed on the barber to give me some of the suds or lather, out of which I picked forty or fifty of the strongest stumps of hair. I then took a piece of fine wood, and cut it like the back of a comb, making several holes in it at equal distances, with as small a needle as I could get from Glumdalclitch. I fixed in the stumps so artificially, scraping and sloping them with my knife towards the points, that I made a very tolerable comb; which was a seasonable supply, my own being so much broken in the teeth that it was almost useless; neither did I know any artist in that country so nice and exact, as would undertake to make me another.

And this puts me in mind of an amusement, wherein I spent many of my leisure hours. I desired the queen's woman to save me some of the combings of her majesty's hair, whereof in time I got a good quantity; and consulting with my friend the cabinet-maker, who had received general orders

to do little jobs for me, I directed him to make two chair frames, no larger than those I had in my box, and to bore little holes with a fine awl, round those parts where I designed the backs and seats: through these holes I wove the strongest hairs I could pick out, just after the manner of cane chairs in England. When they were finished, I made a present of them to her majesty, who kept them in her cabinet, and used to show them for curiosities, as indeed they were the wonder of every one that beheld them. The queen would have me sit upon one of these chairs, but I absolutely refused to obey her, protesting I would rather die a thousand deaths, than place a dishonourable part of my body on those precious hairs that once adorned her majesty's head. Of these hairs (as I had always a mechanical genius) I likewise made a neat little purse, about five feet long, with her majesty's name deciphered in gold letters, which I gave to Glumdalclitch by the queen's consent. To say the truth it was more for show than use, being not of strength to bear the weight of the larger coins, and therefore she kept nothing in it but some little toys that girls are fond of.

The king, who delighted in music, had frequent concerts at court, to which I was sometimes carried, and set in my box on the table to hear them; but the noise was so great that I could hardly distinguish the tunes. I am confident that all the drums and trumpets of the royal army, beating and sounding together just at your ears, could not equal it. My practice was to have my box removed from the place where the performers sat, as far as I could, then to shut the doors and windows of it, and draw the window curtains, after which I found their music not disagreeable.

I had learned in my youth to play a little upon the spinet. Glumdalclitch kept one in her chamber, and a master attended twice a-week to teach her: I called it a spinet, because it somewhat resembled that instrument, and was played upon in

the same manner. A fancy came into my head that I would entertain the king and queen with an English tune upon this instrument. But this appeared extremely difficult: for the spinet was near sixty feet long, each key being almost a foot wide, so that with my arms extended I could not reach to above five keys, and to press them down required a good smart stroke with my fist, which would be too great a labour, and to no purpose. The method I contrived was this: I prepared two round sticks, about the bigness of common cudgels; they were thicker at one end than the other, and I covered the thicker ends with pieces of a mouse's skin, that by rapping on them I might neither damage the tops of the keys nor interrupt the sound. Before the spinet a bench was placed, about four feet below the keys and I was put upon the bench. I ran sidelong upon it, that way and this, as fast as I could, banging the proper keys with my two sticks, and made a shift to play a jig, to the great satisfaction of both their majesties; but it was the most violent exercise I ever underwent; and yet I could not strike above sixteen keys, nor consequently, play the bass and treble together, as other artists do; which was a great disadvantage to my performance.

The king, who, as I before observed, was a prince of excellent understanding, would frequently order that I should be brought in my box, and set upon the table in his closet; he would then command me to bring one of my chairs out of the box, and sit down within three yards' distance, upon the top of the cabinet, which brought me almost to a level with his face. In this manner I had several conversations with him. I one day took the freedom to tell his majesty, "that the contempt he discovered towards Europe, and the rest of the world, did not seem answerable to those excellent qualities of mind that he was master of; that reason did not extend itself within the bulk of the body; on the contrary, we observed in our country, that the tallest persons were usually

the least provided with it; that among other animals, bees and ants had the reputation of more industry, art, and sagacity, than many of the larger kinds; and that, as inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his majesty some signal service." The king heard me with attention, and began to conceive a much better opinion of me than he had ever before. He desired "I would give him as exact an account of the government of England as I possibly could; because, as fond as princes commonly are of their own customs (for so he conjectured of other monarchs by my former discourses), he should be glad to hear of any thing that might deserve imitation."

Imagine with thyself, courteous reader, how often I then wished for the tongue of Demosthenes or Cicero, that might have enabled me to celebrate the praise of my own dear native country, in a style equal to its merits and felicity.

I began my discourse by informing his majesty, that our dominions consisted of two islands, which composed three mighty kingdoms under one sovereign, besides our plantations in America. I dwelt long under the fertility of our soil, and the temperature of our climate. I then spoke at large upon the constitution of an English parliament; partly made up of an illustrious body, called the House of Peers; persons of the noblest blood, and of the most ancient and ample patrimonies. I described that extraordinary care always taken of their education in arts and arms, to qualify them for being counselors both to the king and kingdom; to have a share in the legislature; to be members of the highest court of judicature, whence there can be no appeal; and to be champions always ready for the defence of their prince and country, by their valour, conduct, and fidelity. That these were the ornament and bulwark of the kingdom, worthy followers of their most renowned ancestors, whose honour had been the reward of their virtue, from which their posterity were never once known

to degenerate. To these were joined several holy persons, as part of that assembly, under the title of bishops, whose peculiar business it is to take care of religion, and of those who instruct the people therein. These were searched and sought out through the whole nation, by the prince and his wisest counsellors, among such of the priesthood as were most deservedly distinguished by the sanctity of their life, and the depth of their erudition; who were indeed the spiritual fathers of the clergy and the people.*

That the other part of the parliament consisted of an assembly, called the House of Commons, who were all principal gentlemen, freely picked and culled out by the people themselves, for their great abilities and love of their country, to represent the wisdom of the whole nation. And that these two bodies made up the most august assembly in Europe, to

* The doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, so strenuously maintained by many eminent English divines, rendered the church an object of suspicion to the several whig cabinets, and ministerial patronage was exerted to weaken the political influence of the church by promoting persons not likely to maintain the claims of ecclesiastical power. Not only Swift, but many others complained that the church was betrayed by the state, and that the secular power was directly exerted to overthrow episcopal authority. Bishop Warburton, in one of his letters, urges this complaint with his usual force, vulgarity, and mannerism; the passage is also remarkable for a Brobdingnagian image worthy of Swift himself. "You mention Noah's ark. I have really forgot what I said of it. But I suppose I compared it to the church, as many a grave divine has done before me. The rabbins make the giant Gog or Magog cotemporary with Noah, and convinced by his preaching; so that he was disposed to take the benefit of the ark. But here lay the distress; it by no means suited his dimensions. Therefore, as he could not enter in, he contented himself to ride upon it astride. And though you must suppose, that in that stormy weather he was more than half boots over, he kept his seat, and dismounted safely when the ark landed on Mount Ararat. Image now to yourself this illustrious cavalier mounted on his hackney; and see if it does not bring before you the church bestrid by some lumpish minister of state, who turns and winds it at his pleasure. The only difference is, that Gog believed the preacher of righteousness and religion."

The former comparison of the church to the ark, which Warburton's correspondent appears to have noticed, is not less characteristic. "The church, like the ark of Noah, is worth saving, not for the sake of the unclean beasts and vermin that almost filled it, and probably made most noise and clamour in it, but for the little corner of rationality, that was as much distressed by the stink within as by the tempest without."

whom, in conjunction with the prince, the whole legislature is committed.

I then descended to the courts of justice; over which the judges, those venerable sages and interpreters of the law, presided, for determining the disputed rights and properties of men, as well as for the punishment of vice and protection of innocence. I mentioned the prudent management of our treasury; the valour and achievements of our forces, by sea and land. I computed the number of our people, by reckoning how many millions there might be of each religious sect, or political party among us. I did not omit even our sports and pastimes, or any other particular which I thought might redound to the honour of my country. And I finished all with a brief historical account of affairs and events in England for about a hundred years past.

This conversation was not ended under five audiences, each of several hours; and the king heard the whole with great attention, frequently taking notes of what I spoke, as well as memorandums of what questions he intended to ask me.

When I had put an end to these long discourses, his majesty, in a sixth audience, consulting his notes, proposed many doubts, queries, and objections, upon every article. He asked, "what methods were used to cultivate the minds and bodies of our young nobility, and in what kind of business they commonly spent the first and teachable part of their lives? What course was taken to supply that assembly, when any noble family became extinct? What qualifications were necessary in those who are to be created new lords: whether the humour of a prince, a sum of money to a court lady, or a design of strengthening a party opposite to the public interest, ever happened to be the motives in those advancements?*

* A bill for the Limitation of the Peerage was passed by the House of Lords in 1719; but after a long debate, was rejected by an overwhelming majority of the Commons. On this occasion, the tories joined with that section of the whigs which recognized Walpole as a leader. Swift unconsciously has adopted a portion of the reasoning of his great enemy.

What share of knowledge these lords had in the laws of their country, and how they came by it, so as to enable them to decide the properties of their fellow-subjects in the last resort? Whether they were always so free from avarice, partialities, or want, that a bribe, or some other sinister view, could have no place among them? Whether those holy lords I spoke of were always promoted to that rank upon account of their knowledge in religious matters, and the sanctity of their lives; had never been compliers with the times, while they were common priests; or slavish prostitute chaplains to some nobleman, whose opinions they continued servilely to follow, after they were admitted into that assembly?" *

*Swift very frequently assailed the Irish bench of bishops, asserting that they were ignorant of the creed of their own church, in one of these attacks on the episcopal body, he says,—

Of whom there are not four at most
Who know there is an Holy Ghost;
And when they boast they have conferr'd it,
Like Paul's Ephesians, never heard it;
And when they gave it 'tis well known,
They gave what never was their own.

In another political squib, we find the following bitter lines,—

Let prelates by their good behaviour,
Convince us they believe a Saviour;
Nor sell, what they so dearly bought,
This country nor their own, for nought.

The Bishop of Kilkenny was particularly obnoxious to the Dean, and bears the brunt of Swift's fierce attack on the Irish bench, for proposing to divide the church livings.

Old Latimer, preaching, did fairly describe
A bishop, who ruled all the rest of his tribe:
And who is this bishop? and where did he dwell?
Why, truly, 'tis Satan, Archbishop of Hell:
And he was a primate, and he wore a mitre,
Surrounded with jewels of sulphur and nitre.
How nearly this bishop our bishops resembles!
But he has the odds who believes and who trembles.
Could you see his Grim Grace for a pound to a penny
You'd swear it must be the baboon of Kilkenny:

He then desired to know, "what arts were practised in electing those whom I called commoners; whether a stranger with a strong purse, might not influence the vulgar voters to choose him before their own landlord, or the most considerable gentleman in the neighbourhood? How it came to pass, that people were so violently bent upon getting into this assembly, which I allowed to be a great trouble and expense, often to the ruin of their families, without any salary or pension; because this appeared such an exalted strain of virtue and public spirit, that his majesty seemed to doubt it might possibly not be always sincere?" * And he desired to know,

Poor Satan will think the comparison odious;
 I wish I could find him out one more commodious.
 But this I am sure, the most reverend old dragon
 Had got on the bench many bishops suffragan;
 And all men believe he resides there incog,
 To give them by turns an invisible jog.

* Considerable excitement was produced by Sir John Cope having charged Sir Francis Page, one of the barons of the Exchequer, with endeavouring to corrupt the borough of Banbury, in order to secure the return of Sir William Codrington, at the next election. The charge was heard at the bar of the House of Commons, and though the ministers of the day exerted all their influence to shield the judge, he was acquitted by a majority of four only, the numbers being 123 to 124. A bill for securing the Freedom of Elections was about the same time rejected by the House of Lords, through the influence of the ministers, who had failed to strangle it in the Commons. This afforded the tories an opportunity of representing themselves as the friends and the whigs as the enemies of constitutional liberty, which they were too wise to neglect. During the debate in the Commons, Mr. Hutcheson, member for Hastings, used the following language, which seems to have suggested the king of Brodingnag's queries to Swift. "But what in God's name can all this tend to? What other construction can any man in common sense put upon all these things, but that there seems to have been a grand design of violence and oppression, first to humble you, and make your necks pliable to the yoke, and then to finish the work by tempting the poverty and necessities of the people to sell themselves into the most abject and detestable slavery, for that very money which had been either unnecessarily raised, or mercilessly and unjustly plundered and torn from their very bowels. And thus you may be in a fair way of being beaten by your own weapons. Nor can I imagine what inducement men have who run from borough to borough, and purchase their elections at such extravagant rates, unless it be from a strong expectation of being well paid for their votes, and of receiving ample recompense and reward for the secret service they have covenanted to perform here It were very much to be wished, that gentlemen of estates and families in the country would heartily unite in this particular, of keeping the elec-

“whether such zealous gentlemen could have any views of refunding themselves for the charges and trouble they were at, by sacrificing the public good to the designs of a weak and vicious prince, in conjunction with a corrupted ministry?” He multiplied his questions, and sifted me thoroughly upon every part of this head, proposing numberless inquiries and objections, which I think it not prudent or convenient to repeat.

Upon what I said in relation to our courts of justice his majesty desired to be satisfied in several points: and this I was better able to do, having been formerly almost ruined by a long suit in chancery, which was decreed for me with costs. He asked, “what time was usually spent in determining between right and wrong, and what degree of expense? Whether advocates and orators had liberty to plead in causes manifestly known to be unjust, vexatious, or oppressive? Whether party, in religion or politics, were observed to be of any weight in the scale of justice? Whether those pleading orators were persons educated in the general knowledge of equity, or only in provincial, national, and other local customs? Whether they or their judges had any part in penning those laws, which they assumed the liberty of interpreting, and glossing upon at their pleasure? Whether they had ever, at different times, pleaded for and against the same cause, and cited precedents to prove contrary opinions? Whether they were a rich or a poor corporation? Whether they received any pecuniary reward for pleading, or delivering their

tions in the several counties among themselves; that they would resolve inviolably to support each other's interests against the encroachments and corrupt applications of strangers, let them come from what quarter they will. If this were done, it would in a great measure put an end to those dangerous and infamous practices that are now on foot, and we might hope once more to see this House filled with gentlemen of free and independent fortunes such as would be above making their court any where at the expense of their country, and would despise all manner of slavish concessions to men in power.”

opinions? And particularly, whether they were ever admitted as members in the lower senate?"*

He fell next upon the management of our treasury; and said, "he thought my memory had failed me because I computed our taxes at about five or six millions a year, and when they came to mention the issues, he found they sometimes amounted to more than double; for the notes he had taken were very particular in this point, because he hoped, as he told me, that the knowledge of our conduct might be useful to him, and he could not be deceived in his calculations.† But, if what I told him were true, he was still at a loss how a kingdom could run out of its estate, like a private person." He asked me "who were our creditors; and where we found money to pay them? He wondered to hear me talk of such chargeable and expensive wars; "that certainly we must be a quarrelsome people, or live among very bad neighbours, and that our generals must needs be richer than our kings!" He

* In the session of 1820, Sir William Thompson, solicitor-general, charged Mr. Lechmere, attorney-general, with breach of his oath, trust, and duty, as a privy councillor, saying that he acted as counsel, and received sums of money for his advice in matters to him referred by the the privy council as attorney-general. The charge was investigated by a committee of the whole House; it appeared that Mr. Lechmere had taken nothing but his usual fees as chamber counsellor, and the accusation was declared by the House to be false, scandalous and malicious. The lawyers of Swift's day were for the most part whigs, and strongly attached to the Protestant succession; they were on this account particularly odious to the Jacobites, and when individual satire failed, bitter attacks were made on the entire legal profession. It must, however, be added, that the whig lawyers were too ready to extend the dangerous principle of constructive treason, and far too ardent in their prosecutions for libel. Swift was particularly hostile to lawyers on account of the vexatious prosecutions undertaken against the printers and publishers of the *Drapier's Letters*, and he never omits an opportunity of venting his indignation.

† The National Debt was first incurred by the whig administrations in the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne, when the ordinary revenue was found inadequate to the expenses of the great wars against France. It was a favourite topic of declamation with their tory opponents, and was not the least efficacious in depriving the whigs of their popularity. In 1722, the tories proposed the following resolution in the Lords. "That the lessening the public debt annually by all proper methods is necessary to the restoring and securing the public credit." The previous question was carried; upon which, a spirited protest was entered in the Journals, and copies of it industriously circulated through the country.

asked "what business we had out of our own islands, unless upon the score of trade or treaty, or to defend the coast with our fleet?" Above all, he was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing army, in the midst of peace and among a free people. He said, "if we were governed by our own consent, in the persons of our representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid or against whom we were to fight; and would hear my opinion, whether a private man's house might not better be defended by himself, his children and his family, than by half a dozen rascals, picked up at a venture in the streets for small wages, who might get a hundred times more by cutting their throats?"*

He laughed at my "odd kind of arithmetic," as he was pleased to call it, "in reckoning the numbers of our people by a computation drawn from the several sects among us in religion and politics." He said "he knew no reason why those, who entertain opinions prejudicial to the public, should be obliged to change, or should not be obliged to conceal them. And as it was tyranny in any government to require the first, so it was weakness not to enforce the second: for a man may be allowed to keep poisons in his closet, but not to vend them about for cordials."†

* One of the most memorable debates in the reign of George I. was on the grant for maintaining a standing army of sixteen thousand men. Mr. Shippen and Mr. Jeffries resisted the proposal with great energy, and the former used such severity of language that he was committed to the Tower. The Tories, both on this question and on the Debt, had a decided advantage in argument over their adversaries, especially as they could appeal to a parliamentary resolution in the reign of Charles II., which declared, "That the continuance of standing forces in this nation, other than the militia, is illegal, and a great grievance and vexation to the people." Mr. Shippen, in his speech, perplexed the Whigs by referring to their own recorded principles. "It is," said he, "every year declared in the Act of Mutiny and Desertion, that the keeping up a standing army in time of peace, is against law; and as the freeing us from it was one of the ends of the revolution, so, no doubt, the preserving us for ever from an attempt of the like nature, was one of those innumerable glorious advantages proposed by the Act of Succession.

† It is not easy to reconcile these intolerant sentiments with the opinions on toleration already noticed in the voyage to Lilliput. There was at this time reason to fear that the Presbyterians would obtain the ascendancy in the Irish parliament, and

He observed, "that among the diversions of our nobility and gentry, I had mentioned gaming; he desired to know at what age this entertainment was usually taken up, and when it was laid down; how much of their time it employed; whether it ever went so high as to affect their fortunes; whether mean, vicious people by their dexterity in that art, might not arrive at great riches, and sometimes keep our very nobles in dependence, as well as habituate them to vile companions; wholly take from them the improvement of their minds, and force them, by the losses they received,* to learn and practise that infamous dexterity upon others?"

He was perfectly astonished with the historical account I gave him of our affairs during the last century; protesting it was only a heap of conspiracies, rebellions, murders, massacres, revolutions, banishments, the very worst effects that avarice, faction, hypocrisy, perfidiousness, cruelty, rage, madness, hatred, envy, lust, malice, and ambition could produce.

His majesty, in another audience, was at the pains to recapitulate the sum of all I had spoken; compared the questions he made with the answers I had given; then taking me into his hands, and stroking me gently, delivered himself in these words, which I shall never forget, nor the manner he spoke them in: "My little friend Gildrig, you have made a most admirable panegyric upon your country; you have clearly proved that ignorance, idleness, and vice, are the proper ingredients for qualifying a legislator; that laws are best explained, interpreted and applied, by those whose interests and abilities lie in perverting, confounding and eluding them. I observe among you some lines of an institution, which in its original might have been tolerable, but these half erased, and the rest

abolish episcopacy; hence probably arises Swift's bitterness against sectaries, which is very strongly manifested here, and in his celebrated Letter on the Sacramental Test.

* Receiving a loss, is certainly not a good expression; it should be, "the losses they have sustained."—*Sheridan*.

wholly blurred and blotted by corruptions. It does not appear, from all you have said, how any one perfection is required toward the procurement of any one station among you; much less that men are ennobled on account of their virtue; that priests are advanced for their piety or learning; soldiers for their conduct or valour; judges for their integrity; senators for the love of their country; or counsellors for their wisdom. As for yourself," continued the king, "who have spent the greatest part of your life in travelling, I am well disposed to hope you may hitherto have escaped many vices of your country. But by what I have gathered from your own relation, and the answers I have with much pains wringed* and extorted from you, I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth."

* Instead of "wringed" it should have been "wrung."—*Sheridan*.

CHAPTER VII.

The author's love of his country—He makes a proposal of much advantage to the king, which is rejected—The king's great ignorance in politics—The learning of that country very imperfect and confined—The laws and military affairs, and parties in the state.

LOVE of truth could alone have hindered me from concealing this part of my story. It was in vain to discover my resentments, which were always turned into ridicule; and I was forced to rest with patience, while my noble and beloved country was so injuriously treated. I am as heartily sorry as any of my readers can possibly be, that such an occasion was given; but this prince happened to be so curious and inquisitive upon every particular, that it could not consist either with gratitude or good manners, to refuse giving him what satisfaction I was able. Yet thus much I may be allowed to say in my own vindication, that I artfully eluded many of his questions, and gave to every point a more favourable turn, by many degrees, than the strictness of truth would allow. For I have always borne that laudable partiality to my own country, which Dionysius Halicarnassensis, with so much justice, recommends to an historian; I would hide the frailties and deformities of my political mother, and place her virtues and beauties in the most advantageous light. This was my sincere endeavour in those many discourses I had with that monarch, although it unfortunately failed of success.

But great allowances should be given to a king, who lives

wholly secluded from the rest of the world, and must therefore be altogether unacquainted with the manners and customs that most prevail in other nations; the want of which knowledge will ever produce many prejudices, and a certain narrowness of thinking, from which we, and the politer countries of Europe, are wholly exempted. And it would be hard indeed, if so remote a prince's notions of virtue and vice were to be offered as a standard for all mankind.

To confirm what I have now said, and farther to show the miserable effects of a confined education, I shall here insert a passage, which will hardly obtain belief. In hopes to ingratiate myself farther into his majesty's favour, I told him of "an invention, discovered between three and four hundred years ago, to make a certain powder, into a heap of which, the smallest spark of fire falling, would kindle the whole in a moment, although it were as big as a mountain, and make it all fly up into the air together, with a noise and agitation greater than thunder." That a proper quantity of this powder rammed into a hollow tube of brass or iron, according to its bigness, would drive a ball of iron or lead, with such violence and speed, as nothing was able to sustain its force. That the largest balls thus discharged, would not only destroy whole ranks of an army at once, but batter the strongest walls to the ground; sink down ships, with a thousand men in each, to the bottom of the sea; and when linked together by a chain would cut through masts and rigging, divide hundreds of bodies in the middle, and lay all waste before them. That we often put this powder into large hollow balls of iron, and discharged them by an engine into some city we were besieging, which would rip up the pavements, tear the houses to pieces, burst and throw splinters on every side, dashing out the brains of all who came near. That I knew the ingredients very well, which were cheap and common. I understood the manner of compounding them, and could

direct his workmen how to make those tubes, of a size proportionable to all other things in his majesty's kingdom, and the largest need not be above a hundred feet long; twenty or thirty of which tubes, charged with the proper quantity of powder and balls, would batter down the walls of the strongest town in his dominions in a few hours, or destroy the whole metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute commands. This I humbly offered to his majesty, as a small tribute of acknowledgment, in return of so many marks that I had received of his royal favour and protection."

The king was struck with horror at the description I had given of these terrible engines, and the proposal I had made. "He was amazed, how so impotent and grovelling an insect as I" (these were his expressions) "could entertain such inhuman ideas, and in so familiar a manner, as to appear wholly unmoved at all the scenes of blood and desolation which I had painted, as the common effects of these destructive machines: whereof" he said "some evil genius, enemy to mankind, must have been the first contriver. As for himself, he protested, that although few things delighted him so much as new discoveries in art or in nature, yet he would rather lose half his kingdom than be privy to such a secret; which he commanded me, as I valued my life, never to mention any more."*

A strange effect of narrow principles and views! that a prince possessed of every quality which procures veneration, love, and esteem; of strong parts, great wisdom, and profound learning; endowed with admirable talents, and almost adored

* It is scarcely necessary to expose the fallacious reasoning of this passage, every body knows that wars have been far less sanguinary since the invention of gunpowder than they were before, and that every improvement in the arts of destruction has been followed by a saving of human life. Swift, however, knew that the glories of Marlborough's campaigns were the chief source of the popularity of the whigs, and as he could not deny the military merits of these victories, he hoped to weaken their influence by declaiming against wars in general.

by his subjects, should from a nice unnecessary scruple, whereof in Europe we can have no conception, let slip an opportunity put into his hands that would have made him absolute master of the lives, the liberties, and the fortunes of his people.* Neither do I say this, with the least intention to detract from the many virtues of that excellent king, whose character, I am sensible, will, on this account, be very much lessened in the opinion of the English reader; but I take this defect among them to have risen from their ignorance, by not having hitherto reduced politics into a science, as the more acute wits of Europe have done. For, I remember very well, in a discourse one day with the king, when I happened to say, "there were several thousand books among us written upon the art of government," it gave him (directly contrary to my intention) a very mean opinion of our understandings. He professed both to abominate and to despise all mystery, refinement, and intrigue, either in a prince or a minister. He could not tell what I meant by secrets of state, where an enemy, or some rival nation, were not in the case. He confined the knowledge of governing within very narrow bounds, to common sense and reason, to justice and lenity, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes; with some other obvious topics, which are not worth considering. And he gave it for his opinion, "that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground, where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together."†

* It was more than hinted by the tories, that the House of Brunswick intended to make use of the standing army to subvert British liberty. Mr. Shippen, in the speech to which allusion has been already made, said, "that the second paragraph of the king's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than Great Britain; and that the king was a stranger to our language and constitution." It was for these expressions that he was committed to the Tower.

† The tories were always anxious to identify themselves with the agricultural interest, to which Swift consequently loses no opportunity of paying a compliment.

The learning of this people is very defective: consisting only of morality, history, poetry, and mathematics, wherein they must be allowed to excel. But the last of these is wholly applied to what may be useful in life, to the improvement of agriculture and all mechanical arts; so that among us it would be little esteemed. And as to ideas, entities, abstractions, and transcendentals, I could never drive the least conception into their heads.

No law of that country must exceed in words the number of letters in their alphabet, which consists only of two-and-twenty. But indeed few of them extend even to that length. They are expressed in the most plain and simple terms, wherein those people are not mercurial enough to discover above one interpretation: and to write a comment upon any law, is a capital crime. As to the decision of civil causes, or proceedings against criminals, their precedents are so few, that they have little reason to boast of any extraordinary skill in either.

They have had the art of printing, as well as the Chinese, time out of mind: but their libraries are not very large; for that of the king, which is reckoned the largest, does not amount to above a thousand volumes, placed in a gallery of twelve hundred feet long, whence I had liberty to borrow what books I pleased. The queen's joiner had contrived in one of Glumdalclitch's rooms, a kind of wooden machine five-and-twenty feet high, formed like a standing ladder; the steps were each fifty feet long; it was indeed a moveable pair of stairs, the lowest end placed at ten feet distance from the wall of the chamber. The book I had a mind to read, was put up leaning against the wall: I first mounted to the upper step of the ladder, and turning my face towards the book began at the top of the page, and so walking to the right and left about eight or ten paces, according to the length of the lines, till I had gotten a little below the level of mine eyes, and then descending gradually till I came to the bottom: after

which I mounted again, and began the other page in the same manner, and so turned over the leaf, which I could easily do with both my hands, for it was as thick and stiff as a pasteboard, and in the largest folios not above eighteen or twenty feet long.

Their style is clear, masculine and smooth, but not florid; for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary words or using various expressions. I have perused many of their books, especially those in history and morality. Among the rest, I was much diverted with a little old treatise, which always lay in Glumdalclitch's bedchamber, and belonged to her governess, a grave elderly gentlewoman, who dealt in writings of morality and devotion. The book treats of the weakness of human kind, and is in little esteem except among the women and the vulgar. However, I was curious to see what an author of that country could say upon such a subject. This writer went through all the usual topics of European moralists, showing "how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an animal was man in his own nature: how unable to defend himself from inclemencies of the air, or the fury of wild beasts: how much he was excelled by one creature in strength, by another in speed, by a third in foresight, by a fourth in industry." He added, "that nature was degenerated in these latter declining ages of the world, and could now produce only small abortive births; in comparison of those in ancient times." He said, "it was very reasonable to think, not only that the species of men were originally much larger, but also that there must have been giants in former ages: which, as it is asserted by history and tradition, so it has been confirmed by huge bones and skulls, casually dug up in several parts of the kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled race of men in our days." He argued, that the very laws of nature absolutely required we should have been made, in the beginning, of a size more large and robust; not

so liable to destruction from every little accident, of a tile falling from a house, or a stone cast from the hand of a boy, or being drowned in a little brook." From this way of reasoning, the author drew several moral applications, useful in the conduct of life, but needless here to repeat. For my own part, I could not avoid reflecting how universally this talent was spread, of drawing lectures in morality, or indeed rather matter of discontent and repining, from the quarrels we raise with nature. And I believe, upon a strict inquiry, those quarrels might be shown as ill-grounded among us as they are among that people.

As to their military affairs, they boast that the king's army consists of a hundred and seventy-six thousand foot, and thirty-two thousand horse: if that may be called an army, which is made up of tradesmen in the several cities, and farmers in the country, whose commanders are only the nobility and gentry, without pay or reward. They are indeed perfect enough in their exercises, and under very good discipline, wherein I saw no great merit; for how should it be otherwise, where every farmer is under the command of his own landlord, and every citizen under that of the principal men in his own city, chosen, after the manner of Venice, by ballot? I have often seen the militia of Lorbrulgrud drawn out to exercise, in a great field near the city, of twenty miles square. They were in all not above twenty-five thousand foot, and six thousand horse; but it was impossible for me to compute their number, considering the space of ground they took up. A cavalier mounted on a large steed might be about ninety feet high. I have seen this whole body of horse, upon a word of command, draw their swords at once, and brandish them in the air. Imagination can picture nothing so grand, so surpassing, and so astonishing! it looked as if ten thousand flashes of lightning were darting at the same time from every quarter of the sky.

I was curious to know how this prince, to whose dominions there is no access from any other country, came to think of armies, or to teach his people the practice of military discipline. But I was soon informed, both by conversation and reading their histories; for, in the course of many ages, they have been troubled with the same disease to which the whole race of mankind is subject; the nobility often contending for power, the people for liberty, and the king for absolute dominion. All which, however happily tempered by the laws of that kingdom, have been sometimes violated by each of the three parties, and have more than once occasioned civil wars; the last whereof was happily put an end to by this prince's grandfather, in a general composition, and the militia then settled with common consent, has been ever since kept in the strictest duty.

CHAPTER VIII.

The king and queen make a progress to the frontiers—The author attends them—The manner in which he leaves the country very particularly related—His return to England.

JUNCTURES of perilous circumstances, from which I had already escaped, inspired me with a strong impulse that I should some time recover my liberty, though it was impossible to conjecture by what means, or to form any project with the least hope of succeeding. The ship in which I sailed was the first known to be driven within sight of that coast, and the king had given strict orders, "that if at any time another appeared, it should be taken ashore, and with all its crew and passengers brought in a tumbril to Lorbrulgrud." He was strongly bent to get me a woman of my own size, by whom I might propagate the breed; but I think I should rather have died than undergone the disgrace of leaving a posterity to be kept in cages, like tame canary birds, and perhaps, in time, sold about the kingdom, to persons of quality, for curiosities. I was indeed treated with much kindness; I was the favourite of a great king and queen, and the delight of the whole court; but it was upon such a foot as ill became the dignity of human-kind. I could never forget those domestic pledges I had left behind me. I wanted to be among people, with whom I could converse upon even terms, and walk about the streets and fields without being afraid of being trod to death like a frog or a young puppy. But my deliverance came sooner than I expected, and in a manner not

very common; the whole story and circumstances of which I shall faithfully relate.

I had now been two years in the country; and about the beginning of the third, Glumdalclitch and I attended the king and queen, in a progress to the south coast of the kingdom. I was carried as usual, in my travelling box, which, as I have already described was a very convenient closet of twelve feet wide. And I had ordered a hammock to be fixed, by silken ropes, from the four corners at the top, to break the jolts when a servant carried me before him on horse-back, as I sometimes desired; and would often sleep in my hammock, while we were upon the road. On the roof of my closet, not directly over the middle of the hammock, I ordered the joiner to cut a hole of a foot square, to give me air in hot weather as I slept; which hole I shut at pleasure, with a board that drew backward and forward through a groove.

When we came to our journey's end, the king thought proper to stop a few days at a palace he has near Flanflasnic, a city within eighteen English miles of the sea-side. Glumdalclitch and I were much fatigued; I had gotten a small cold, but the poor girl was so ill as to be confined to her chamber. I longed to see the ocean, which must be the only scene of my escape, if ever it should happen. I pretended to be worse than I really was, and desired leave to take the fresh air of the sea, with a page, whom I was very fond of, and who had sometimes been trusted with me. I shall never forget with what unwillingness Glumdalclitch consented, nor the strict charges she gave the page to be careful of me, bursting at the same time into a flood of tears, as if she had some foreboding of what was to happen. The boy took me out of my box, about a half an hour's walk from the palace, towards the rocks on the sea-shore. I ordered him to set me down, and lifting up one of my sashes, cast many a wistful melancholy look towards the sea. I found myself not very well

and told the page that I had a mind to take a nap in my hammock, which I hoped would do me good. I got in, and the boy shut the window close down to keep out the cold. I soon fell asleep, and all I can conjecture is, while I slept, the page, thinking no danger could happen, went among the rocks to look for birds' eggs, having before observed him from my window searching about, and picking up one or two in the clefts. Be that as it will, I found myse'^t suddenly awakened with a violent pull upon the ring, which was fastened at the top of my box for the convenience of carriage. I felt my box raised very high in the air, and then borne forward with prodigious speed. The first jolt had like to have shaken me out of my hammock, but afterward the motion was easy enough. I called out several times as loud as I could raise my voice, but all to no purpose. I looked towards the windows, and could see nothing but the clouds and sky. I heard a noise just over my head, like the clapping of wings, and then began to perceive the woful condition I was in; that some eagle had got the cord of my box in his beak, with an intent to let it fall on a rock, like a tortoise in a shell, and then pick out my body, and devour it; for the sagacity and smell of this bird enable him to discover his quarry at a great distance, though better concealed than I could be within a two-inch board. In a little time, I observed the noise and flutter of wings to increase very fast, and my box was tossed up and down, like a sign in a windy day. I heard several bangs or buffets, as I thought, given to the eagle (for such I am certain it must have been that held the cord of my box in his beak), and then, all on a sudden, felt myself falling perpendicularly down, for above a minute, but with such incredible swiftness, that I almost lost my breath. My fall was stopped by a terrible squash, that sounded louder to my ears than the cataract of Niagara;*

* This cataract is produced by the fall of a conflux of water (formed of the four vast lakes of Canada) from a rocky precipice, the perpendicular height of which is one hundred and thirty-seven feet; and it is said to have been heard fifteen leagues

after which, I was quite in the dark for another minute, and then began to rise so high, that I could see light from the tops of the windows. I now perceived I was fallen into the sea. My box, by the weight of my body, the goods that were in, and the broad plates of iron fixed for strength at the four corners of the top and bottom, floated about five feet deep in water. I did then, and do now suppose, that the eagle which flew away with my box was pursued by two or three others, and forced to let me drop while he defended himself against the rest who hoped to share in the prey. The plates of iron fastened at the bottom of the box (for those were the strongest) preserved the balance while it fell, and hindered it from being broken on the surface of the water. Every joint of it was well grooved; and the door did not move on hinges, but up and down like a sash, which kept my closet so tight that very little water came in. I got with much difficulty out of my hammock, having first ventured to draw back the slip-board on the roof already mentioned, contrived on purpose to let in air, for want of which I found myself almost stifled.

How often did I then wish myself with my dear Glumdalclitch, from whom one single hour had so far divided me! And I may say with truth, that in the midst of my own misfortunes I could not forbear lamenting my poor nurse, the grief she would suffer for my loss, the displeasure of the queen, and the ruin of her fortune. Perhaps many travellers have not been under greater difficulties and distress than I was at this juncture, expecting every moment to see my box dashed to pieces, or at least upset by the first violent blast, or rising wave. A breach in one single pane of glass would have been immediate death; nor could any thing have preserved the windows, but the strong lattice wires placed on the outside, against accidents in travelling. I saw the water ooze in at several crannies, although the leaks were not considerable, and I endeavoured to stop them as well as I could. I was not

able to lift up the roof of my closet, which otherwise I certainly should have done, and sat on the top of it; where I might at least preserve myself some hours longer, than by being shut up (as I may call it) in the hold. Or if I escaped these dangers for a day or two, what could I expect, but a miserable death of cold and hunger? I was for four hours under these circumstances, expecting, and indeed wishing every moment to be my last.

I have already told the reader that there were two strong staples fixed upon that side of my box which had no window; and into which the servant who used to carry me on horseback, would put a leathern belt, and buckle it about his waist. Being in this disconsolate state, I heard or least thought I heard, some kind of grating noise on that side of my box where the staples were fixed; soon after I began to fancy that the box was pulled or towed along the sea: for I now and then felt a sort of tugging, which made the waves rise near the tops of my windows, leaving me almost in the dark. This gave me some faint hopes of relief, although I was not able to imagine how it could be brought about. I ventured to unscrew one of my chairs, which were always fastened to the floor; and having made a hard shift to screw it down again, directly under the slipping-board that I had lately opened, I mounted on the chair, and putting my mouth as near as I could to the hole, I called for help in a loud voice, and in all the languages I understood. I then fastened my handkerchief to a stick I usually carried, and, thrusting it up the hole, waved it several times in the air, that if any boat or ship were near, the seamen might conjecture some unhappy mortal to be shut up in the box.

I found no effect from all I could do, but plainly perceived my closet to be moved along; and in the space of an hour, or better, that side of the box where the staples were, and had no windows struck against something that was hard. I appre-

hended it to be a rock, and found myself tossed more than ever. I plainly heard a noise upon the cover of my closet, like that of a cable, and the grating of it as it passed through the ring. I then found myself hoisted up, by degrees, at least three feet higher than I was before. Whereupon I again thrust up my stick and handkerchief, calling for help till I was almost hoarse. In return to which, I heard a great shout repeated three times, giving me such transports of joy, as are not to be conceived but by those who feel them. I now heard a trampling over my head, and somebody calling through the hole with a loud voice, in the English tongue, "If there be anybody below, let them speak." I answered, "I was an Englishman, drawn by ill fortune into the greatest calamity that ever any creature underwent, and begged by all that was moving, to be delivered out of the dungeon I was in." The voice replied, "I was safe, for my box was fastened to their ship; and the carpenter should immediately come and saw a hole in the cover, large enough to pull me out." I answered "that was needless, and would take up too much time; for there was no more to be done, but let one of the crew put his finger into the ring, and take the box out of the sea into the ship, and so into the captain's cabin." * Some of them, upon hearing me talk so wildly, thought I was mad; others laughed; for indeed it never came into my head, that I was now got among people of my own stature and strength. The carpenter came, and in a few minutes sawed a passage about four feet square, then let down a small ladder, upon which I mounted, and thence was taken into the ship in a very weak condition.

The sailors were all in amazement, and asked me a thousand

* There are several little incidents which show the author to have had a deep knowledge of human nature, and I think this is one. Although the principal advantages enumerated by Gulliver in the beginning of this chapter, of mingling again among his countrymen, depended on their being of the same size with himself, yet this is forgotten in his ardour to be delivered: and he is afterwards betrayed into the same absurdity, by his zeal to preserve his furniture.—*Hawkesworth*.

questions, which I had no inclination to answer. I was equally confounded at the sight of so many pigmies, for such I took them to be, after having so long accustomed mine eyes to the monstrous objects I had left. But the captain, Mr Thomas Wilcocks, an honest worthy Shropshire man, observing I was ready to faint, took me into his cabin, gave me a cordial to comfort me, and made me turn in upon his own bed, advising me to take a little rest, of which I had great need. Before I went to sleep, I gave him to understand that I had some valuable furniture in my box, too good to be lost: a fine hammock, a handsome field-bed, two chairs, a table, and a cabinet; that my closet was hung on all sides, or rather quilted, with silk and cotton; that if he would let one of the crew bring my closet into his cabin, I would open it there before him, and show him my goods. The captain, hearing me utter these absurdities, concluded I was raving; however (I suppose to pacify me) he promised to give order as I desired, and going upon deck, sent some of his men down into my closet, whence (as I afterwards found), they drew up all my goods, and stripped off the quilting; but the chairs, cabinet, and bedstead, being screwed to the floor, were much damaged by the ignorance of the seamen, who tore them up by force. Then they knocked off some of the boards for the use of the ship, and when they had got all they had a mind for, let the hull drop into the sea, which, by reason of many breaches made in the bottom and sides, sunk outright. And, indeed, I was glad not to have been a spectator of the havoc they made; because I am confident it would have sensibly touched me, by bringing former passages into my mind which I would rather have forgot.

I slept some hours, but perpetually disturbed with dreams of the place I had left, and the dangers I had escaped. However, upon waking, I found myself much recovered. It was now about eight o'clock at night, and the captain ordered

supper immediately, thinking I had already fasted too long. He entertained me with great kindness, observing me not to look wildly, or talk inconsistently; and when we were left alone, desired I would give him a relation of my travels, and by what accident I came to be set adrift in that monstrous wooden chest. He said, "that about twelve o'clock at noon, as he was looking through his glass, he spied it at a distance and thought it was a sail, which he had a mind to make, being not much out of his course, in hopes of buying some biscuit, his own beginning to fall short. That upon coming nearer and finding his error, he sent out his long boat, to discover what it was: that his men came back in a fright, swearing they had seen a swimming house. That he laughed at their folly, and went himself in the boat, ordering his men to take a strong cable along with them. That the weather being calm, he rowed round me several times, observed my windows and wire lattices that defended them. That he discovered two staples upon one side, which was all of boards, without any passage for light. He then commanded his men to row up to that side, and fastening a cable to one of the staples, ordered them to tow my chest, as they called it, toward the ship. When it was there, he gave directions to fasten another cable to the ring fixed in the cover, and raise up my chest with pulleys, which all the sailors were not able to do above two or three feet. He said, they saw my stick and handkerchief thrust out of the hole, and concluded that some unhappy man must be shut up in the cavity." I asked, "whether he or the crew had seen any prodigious birds in the air, about the time he first discovered me?" To which he answered, "that discoursing this matter with the sailors while I was asleep, one of them said he had observed three eagles flying towards the north, but he remarked nothing of their being larger than the usual size;" which I suppose must be imputed to the great height they were at; and he could not guess

the reason of my question. I then asked the captain, "how far he reckoned we might be from land?" He said, "by the best computation he could make, we were at least a hundred leagues." I assured him he must be mistaken by almost half, for I had not left the country whence I came above two hours before I dropped into the sea." Whereupon he began again to think that my brain was disturbed, of which he gave me a hint, and advised me to go to bed in a cabin he had provided. I assured him, "I was well refreshed with his good entertainment and company, and as much in my senses as ever I was in my life." He then grew serious, and desired to ask me freely, "whether I were not troubled in my mind by the consciousness of some enormous crime, for which I was punished at the command of some prince, by exposing me in that chest; as great criminals, in other countries, have been forced to sea in a leaky vessel, without provisions: for although he should be sorry to take so ill a man into his ship, yet he would engage his word to set me safe ashore, in the first port where we arrived?" He added, "that his suspicions were much increased by some very absurd speeches I had delivered at first to his sailors, and afterwards to himself, in relation to my closet or chest, as well as by my odd looks and behaviour while I was at supper."

I begged his patience to hear me tell my story, which I faithfully did, from the last time I left England to the moment he first discovered me. And as truth always forces its way into rational minds, so this honest worthy gentleman, who had some tincture of learning and very good sense, was immediately convinced of my candour and veracity. But farther to confirm all I had said, I entreated him to give order that my cabinet should be brought, of which I had the key in my pocket; for he had already informed me how the seamen disposed of my closet. I opened it in his own

presence, and showed him the small collection of rarities I made in the country from which I had been so strangely delivered. There was the comb I had contrived out of the stumps of the king's beard, and another of the same materials, but fixed into a paring of her majesty's thumb nail, which served for back. There was a collection of needles and pins, from a foot to half a yard long; four wasps' stings, like joiner's tacks; some combings of the queen's hair; a gold ring which one day she made me a present of, in the most obliging manner, taking it from her little finger, and throwing it over my head like a collar. I desired the captain would please to accept this ring in return for his civilities; which he absolutely refused. I showed him a corn which I had cut off with my own hand, from a maid of honour's toe; it was about the bigness of a Kentish pippin, and grown so hard that when I returned to England, I got it hollowed into a cup, and set in silver. Lastly, I desired him to see the breeches I had then on, which were made of a mouse's skin.

I could force nothing on him but a footman's tooth, which I observed him to examine with great curiosity, and found he had a fancy for it. He received it with abundance of thanks, more than such a trifle could deserve. It was drawn by an unskilful surgeon, in a mistake, from one of Glumdalclitch's men, who was afflicted with the tooth-ache, but it was as sound as any in his head. I got it cleaned, and put it in my cabinet. It was about a foot long, and four inches in diameter.

The captain was very well satisfied with this plain relation I had given him, and said, "he hoped, when we returned to England I would oblige the world by putting it on paper, and making it public." My answer was, "that I thought we were overstocked with books of travels; that nothing could now pass which was not extraordinary; wherein, I doubted some authors less consulted truth, than their own vanity, or interest, or the diversion of ignorant readers; that my story

could contain little besides common events without those ornamental descriptions of strange plants, trees, birds, and other animals; or of the barbarous customs and idolatry of savage people, with which most writers abound." However, I thanked him for his good opinion, and promised to take the matter into my thoughts.

He said, "he wondered at one thing very much, which was at hearing me speak so loud; asking me, whether the king and queen of that country were thick of hearing?" I told him, "it was what I had been used to for above two years past, and that I admired as much at the voices of him and his men, who seemed to me only to whisper, and yet I could hear them well enough. But, when I spoke in that country, it was like a man talking in the streets to another looking out from the top of a steeple, unless when I was placed on a table, or held in any person's hand." I told him, "I had likewise observed another thing, that when I first got into the ship, and the sailors stood all about me, I thought they were the most contemptible little creatures I had ever beheld." For, indeed, while I was in that prince's country, I could never endure to look in a glass after mine eyes had been accustomed to such prodigious objects, because the comparisons gave me so despicable a conceit of myself. The captain said, "that while we were at supper he observed me to look at every thing with a sort of wonder, and that I often seemed hardly able to contain my laughter, which he knew not well how to take, but imputed it to some disorder in my brain." I answered, "It was very true; and I wondered how I could forbear, when I saw his dishes of the size of a silver threepence, a leg of pork hardly a mouthful, a cup not so big as a nutshell;" and so I went on, describing the rest of his household stuff and provisions, after the same manner. For, although the queen had ordered a little equipage of all things necessary for me, while I was in her service, yet my ideas were wholly taken up with what I

saw on every side of me, and I winked at my own littleness as people do at their own faults. The captain understood my raillery very well, and merrily replied with the old English proverb, that he doubted mine eyes were bigger than my belly, for he did not observe my stomach so good, although I had fasted all day; and, continuing in his mirth, protested, "he would have gladly given a hundred pounds, to have seen my closet in the eagle's bill, and afterwards in its fall from so great a height into the sea, which would certainly have been a most astonishing object worthy to have the description of it transmitted to future ages; and the comparison of Phaëton was so obvious, that he could not forbear applying it, although I did not much admire the conceit.

The captain having been at Tonquin, was, in his return to England, driven north-eastward to the latitude of 44 degrees, and longitude of 143. But meeting a trade wind two days after I came on board him, we sailed southward a long time, and coasting New Holland, kept our course west-south-west, and then south-south-west, till we doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Our voyage was very prosperous, but I shall not trouble the reader with a journal of it. The captain called in at one or two ports, and sent in his long-boat for provisions and fresh water; but I never went out of the ship till we came into the Downs, which was on the third day of June, 1706, about nine months after my escape. I offered to leave my goods in security for payment of my freight, but the captain protested he would not receive one farthing. We took a kind of leave of each other, and made him promise he would come to see me at my house in Redriff. I hired a horse and guide for five shillings which I borrowed of the captain.*

*This exquisitely simple incident will probably remind the reader of Campbell's description of Commodore Byron:

In horrid climes, where Chilœ's tempests sweep
Tempestuous murmurs o'er the troubled deep,

As I was on the road, observing the littleness of the horses the trees, the cattle, and the people, I began to think myself in Lilliput. I was afraid of trampling on every traveller I met, and often called aloud to them to have them stand out of the way, so that I had like to have gotten one or two broken heads for my impertinence.

When I came to my own house, for which I was forced to inquire, one of my servants opening the door, I bent down to go in (like a goose under a gate), for fear of striking my head. My wife ran out to embrace me, but I stooped lower than her knees, thinking she could otherwise never be able to reach my mouth. My daughter kneeled to ask my blessing, but I could not see her till she arose, having been so long used to stand with my head and eyes erect to above sixty feet; and then I went to take her up with one hand by the waist. I looked down upon the servants, and one or two friends who were in the house, as if they had been pigmies, and I a giant. I told my wife, "she had been too thrifty, for I found she had starved herself and her daughter to nothing." In short, I behaved myself so unaccountably that they were all of the captain's opinion when he first saw me, and concluded I had lost my wits. This I mention as an instance of the great power of habit and prejudice.

'Twas his to mourn Misfortune's rudest shock;
Scourged by the winds and cradled on the rock,
To wake each joyless morn and search again
The famished haunts of solitary men,
Whose race unyielding as their native storm,
Know not a trace of nature but the form;
Yet at thy call the hardy tar pursued,
Pale, but intrepid, sad, but unsubdued,
Pierced the deep woods, and hailing from afar
The moon's pale planet and the northern star,
Paused at each dreary cry unheard before,
Hyenas in the wild and mermaids on the shore;
Till led by Hope o'er many a cliff sublime,
He found a warmer world, a milder clime,
A home to rest, a shelter to defend,
Peace and repose, a Briton and a friend

In a little time, I and my family and friends came to a right understanding; but my wife protested I should never go to sea any more; although my evil destiny so ordered, that she had not power to hinder me, as the reader may know hereafter. In the mean time, I here concluded the Second Part of my unfortunate Voyage.

PART III.

A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA,

BALNIBARBI, LUGGNAGG, GLUBBDUBDRIB AND JAPAN



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A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI, LUGGNAGG, GLUBBDRUBDRIB AND JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

The Author sets out on his third voyage—Is taken by pirates—The malice of a Dutchman—His arrival at an island—He is received in Laputa.

I HAD not been at home above ten days, when Captain William Robinson, a Cornishman, commander of the *Hope* well, a stout ship, of three hundred tons, came to my house. I had formerly been surgeon of another ship, where he was master and a fourth part owner, in a voyage to the Levant. He had always treated me more like a brother than an inferior officer; and hearing of my arrival, made me a visit, as I apprehended only out of friendship, for nothing passed more than what is usual after long absences. But repeating his visits often, expressing his joy to find me in good health, asking, “whether I were now settled for life,” adding “that he intended a voyage to the East Indies in two months,” at last

* Dr. Swift seems to have borrowed several hints, in his *Voyage to Laputa*, from a novel written by the learned Dr. Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff, called “*Man in the Moon, or a Discourse of a Voyage thither, by Domingo Gonsales, 1638,*” 8vo. This philosophic romance, which has been several times printed, shows that Bishop Godwin had a creative genius. His “*Nuncius Inanimatus,*” which contains instructions to convey secret intelligence, is very scarce. He died in April, 1633.—N.

he plainly invited me, though with some apologies, to be surgeon of the ship; "that I should have another surgeon under me, beside our two mates; that my salary should be double to the usual pay; and having experienced my knowledge in sea affairs to be at least equal to his, he would enter into an engagement to follow my advice, as much as if I had shared in the command."

He said so many obliging things, and I knew him to be so honest a man, that I could not reject the proposal; the thirst I had of seeing the world, notwithstanding my past misfortunes, continuing as violent as ever. The only difficulty that remained, was to persuade my wife, whose consent, however, I at last obtained, by the prospect of advantage she proposed to her children.

We set out on the fifth day of August, 1706, and arrived at Fort St. George the eleventh of April, 1707. We stayed there three weeks to refresh our crew, many of whom were sick. From thence we went to Tonquin, where the captain resolved to continue some time, because many of the goods he intended to buy were not ready, nor could he expect to be dispatched for several months. Therefore, in hopes to defray some of the charges he must be at, he bought a sloop, loaded it with several sorts of goods, wherewith the Tonquinese usually trade to the neighbouring islands, and putting fourteen men on board, whereof three were of the country, he appointed me master of the sloop, and gave me power to traffic, while he transacted his affairs at Tonquin.

We had not sailed above three days, when a great storm arising, we were driven five days to the north-north-east and then to the east; after which we had fair weather, but still with a pretty strong gale from the west. Upon the tenth day we were chased by two pirates, who soon overtook us; for my sloop was so deeply laden, that she sailed very slow, neither were we in a condition to defend ourselves.

We were boarded about the same time by both the pirates' who entered furiously at the head of their men; but finding us all prostrate upon our faces (for so I gave order), they pinioned us with strong ropes, and setting a guard upon us, went to search the sloop.

I observed among them a Dutchman, who seemed to be of some authority, though he was not commander of either ship. He knew us by our countenances to be Englishmen, and jabbering to us in our own language, swore we should be tied back to back and thrown into the sea. I spoke Dutch tolerably well; I told him who we were, and begged him, in consideration of our being Christians and Protestants, of our neighbouring countries in strict alliance, that he would move the captains to take some pity on us. This inflamed his rage; he repeated the threatenings, and turning to his companions spoke with great vehemence in the Japanese language, as I suppose, often using the word *Christianos*.

The largest of the two pirate ships was commanded by a Japanese captain, who spoke a little Dutch, but very imperfectly. He came up to me, and after several questions which I answered in great humility, he said, "we should not die." I made the captain a very low bow, and then, turning to the Dutchman, said, "I was sorry to find more mercy in a heathen than in a fellow Christian." But I had soon reason to repent those foolish words: for that malicious reprobate, having often endeavoured in vain to persuade both the captains that I might be thrown into the sea (which they would not yield to after the promise made me that I should not die,) however, prevailed so far, as to have a punishment inflicted on me, worse, in all human appearance, than death itself. My men were sent by an equal division into both the pirate ships, and my sloop new manned. As to myself, it was determined I should be set adrift in a small canoe, with paddles and a sail and four days' provisions; which last, the Japanese captain

was so kind as to double out his own stores, and would permit no man to search me. I got down into the canoe, while the Dutchman, standing upon the deck, loaded me with all the curses and injurious terms his language could afford.

About an hour before we saw the pirates, I had taken an observation, and found we were in the latitude of 46 N. and longitude of 183. When I was at some distance from the pirates, I discovered by my pocket glass, several islands to the south-east. I set up my sail, the wind being fair, with a design to reach the nearest of those islands, which I made a shift to do, in about three hours. It was all rocky: however I got many birds' eggs, and striking fire, I kindled some heath and dry sea-weed, by which I roasted my eggs. I ate no other supper, being resolved to spare my provisions as much as I could. I passed the night under the shelter of a rock, strewing some heath under me, and slept pretty well.

The next day I sailed to another island, and thence to a third and fourth, sometimes using my sail, sometimes my paddles. But, not to trouble my reader with a particular account of my distresses, let it suffice that on the fifth day I arrived at the last island in my sight, which lay south-south-east to the former.

This island was at a greater distance than I expected, and I did not reach it in less than five hours. I encompassed it almost round, before I could find a convenient place to land in; which was a small creek, about three times the wideness of my canoe. I found the island to be all rocky, only a little intermingled with tufts of grass, and sweet-smelling herbs. I took out my small provisions, and after having refreshed myself, I secured the remainder in a cave, whereof there were great numbers; I gathered plenty of eggs upon the rocks, and got a quantity of dry sea-weed, and parched grass, which I designed to kindle the next day, and roast my eggs as well as I could, for I had about me my flint, steel, watch, and burning

glass. I lay all night in the cave where I had lodged my provisions. My bed was the same dry grass and sea-weed which I intended for fuel. I slept very little, for the disquiets of my mind prevailed over my weariness, and kept me awake. I considered how impossible it was to preserve my life in so desolate a place, and how miserable my end must be : yet found myself so listless and desponding, that I had not the heart to rise ; and before I could get spirits enough to creep out of my cave, the day was far advanced. I walked awhile among the rocks : the sky was perfectly clear, and the sun so hot, that I was forced to turn my face from it : when all on a sudden it became obscure, as I thought, in a manner very different from what happens by the interposition of a cloud. I turned back, and perceived a vast opaque body between me and the sun moving forward towards the island ; it seemed to be about two miles high, and hid the sun six or seven minutes ; but I did not observe the air to be much colder, or the sky more darkened, than if I had stood under the shade of a mountain. As it approached nearer over the place I was, it appeared to be a firm substance, the bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright, from the reflection of the sea below. I stood upon a height about two hundred yards from the shore, and saw this vast body descending almost to a parallel with me, at less than an English mile distance. I took out my pocket perspective, and could plainly discover numbers of people moving up and down the sides of it, which appeared to be sloping ; but what those people were doing I was not able to distinguish.

The natural love of life gave me some inward motion of joy, and I was ready to entertain a hope that this adventure might, some way or other, help to deliver me from the desolate place and condition I was in. But at the same time the reader can hardly conceive my astonishment, to behold an island in the

air, inhabited by men, who were able (as it should seem) to raise or sink, or put into progressive motion, as they pleased. But not being at that time in a disposition to philosophize upon this phenomenon, I rather chose to observe what course the island would take, because it seemed for a while to stand still. Yet soon after it advanced nearer, and I could see the sides of it encompassed with several gradations of galleries, and stairs, at certain intervals, to descend from one to the other. In the lowest gallery, I beheld some people fishing with long angling-rods, and others looking on. I waved my cap (for my hat was long since worn out) and my handkerchief towards the island; and upon its nearer approach, I called and shouted with the utmost strength of my voice; and then looking circumspectly, I beheld a crowd gathered to that side which was most in my view. I found by their pointing towards me and to each other, that they plainly discovered me, although they made no return to my shouting. But I could see four or five men running in great haste, up the stairs, to the top of the island, who then disappeared. I happened rightly to conjecture, that these were sent for orders, to some person in authority, upon this occasion.

The number of people increased, and in less than half an hour, the island was moved and raised in such a manner, that the lowest gallery appeared in a parallel of less than a hundred yards' distance from the height where I stood. I then put myself in the most supplicating postures, and spoke in the humblest accent, but received no answer. Those who stood nearest over against me, seemed to be persons of distinction, as I supposed by their habit. They conferred earnestly with each other, looking often upon me. At length one of them called out in a clear, polite, smooth dialect, not unlike in sound to the Italian; and therefore I returned an answer in that language, hoping at least that the cadence might be

more agreeable to his ears. Although neither of us understood the other, yet my meaning was easily known, for the people saw the distress I was in.

They made signs for me to come down from the rock, and go towards the shore, which I accordingly did; and the flying island being raised to a convenient height, the verge directly over me, a chain was let down from the lowest gallery, with a seat fastened to the bottom, to which I fixed myself, and was drawn up by pulleys.

CHAPTER II.

The humours and dispositions of the Laputians described—An account of their learning—Of the king and his court—The author's reception there—The inhabitants subject to fear and disquietudes—An account of the women.

At my alighting, I was surrounded with a crowd of people, but those who stood nearest seemed to be of better quality. They beheld me with all the marks and circumstances of wonder, neither indeed was I much in their debt; having never till then seen a race of mortals so singular in their shapes, habits, and countenances. Their heads were all reclined, either to the right, or the left; one of their eyes turned inward, and the other directly up to the zenith.* Their outward garments were adorned with the figures of suns, moons, and stars; interwoven with those of fiddles, flutes, harps, trumpets, guitars, harpsichords, and many other instruments of music unknown to us in Europe. I observed, here and there, many in the habit of servants, with a blown bladder fastened like a flail to the end of a stick, which they carried in their hands. In each bladder was a small quantity of dried peas, or little pebbles, as I was afterward informed. With these bladders they now and then flapped the mouths and ears of those who stood near them, of which practice I could not then conceive the meaning. It seems the minds of these people are so taken up with intense speculations, that they

* By this description the author intended to ridicule those who waste life in speculative sciences, the powers of whose minds are as absurdly employed as the eyes of Laputians.—H.

neither can speak, nor attend to the discourses of others, without being roused by some external taction upon the organs of speech and hearing; for which reason, those persons who are able to afford it always keep a flapper (the original is *climénole*) in their family, as one of their domestics; nor ever walk abroad, or make visits, without him. And the business of this officer is, when two, three, or more persons are in company, gently to strike with his bladder the mouth of him who is to speak, and the right ear of him or them to whom the speaker addresses himself. This flapper is likewise employed diligently to attend his master in his walks, and upon occasion to give him a soft flap on his eyes; because he is always so wrapped up in cogitation, that he is in manifest danger of falling down every precipice, and bouncing his head against every post; and in the streets, of justling others, or being justled himself into the kennel.

It was necessary to give the reader this information, without which he would be at the same loss with me to understand the proceedings of these people, as they conducted me up the stairs, to the top of the island, and from thence to the royal palace. While we were ascending, they forgot several times what they were about, and left me to myself, till their memories were again roused by their flappers: for they appeared altogether unmoved by the sight of my foreign habit and countenance, and by the shouts of the vulgar, whose thoughts and minds were more disengaged.

At last we entered the palace, and proceeded into the chamber of presence, where I saw the king seated on his throne, attended on each side by persons of prime quality. Before the throne, was a large table filled with globes and spheres, and mathematical instruments of all kinds. His majesty took not the least notice of us, although our entrance was not without sufficient noise, by the concourse of all persons belonging to the court. But he was then deep in a problem; and

we attended at least an hour, before he could solve it. There stood by him, on each side, a young page with flaps in their hands, and when they saw he was at leisure, one of them gently struck his mouth, and the other his right ear; at which he startled like one awaked on the sudden, and looking towards me and the company I was in, recollected the occasion of our coming, whereof he had been informed before.—He spoke some words, whereupon immediately a young man with a flap came up to my side, and flapped me gently on the right ear; but I made signs, as well as I could, that I had no occasion for such an instrument; which, as I afterward found, gave his majesty, and the whole court, a very mean opinion of my understanding. The king, as far as I could conjecture, asked me several questions, and I addressed myself to him in all the languages I had. When it was found I could neither understand nor be understood, I was conducted by his order to an apartment in his palace (this prince being distinguished above all his predecessors for his hospitality to strangers) where servants were appointed to attend me. My dinner was brought, and four persons of quality, whom I remember to have seen very near the king's person, did me the honour to dine with me.—We had two courses, of three dishes each. In the first course, there was a shoulder of mutton cut into an equilateral triangle, a piece of beef into a rhomboides, and a pudding into a cycloid. The second course was two ducks trussed up in the form of fiddles, sausages and puddings resembling flutes and hautboys, and a breast of veal in the shape of a harp. The servants cut our bread into cones, cylinders, parallelograms, and several other mathematical figures.

While we were at dinner, I made bold to ask the names of several things in their language, and those noble persons, by the assistance of their flappers, delighted to give me answers, hoping to raise my admiration of their great abilities, if I could be brought to converse with them. I was soon able to call for bread and drink, or whatever else I wanted.

After dinner my company withdrew, and a person was sent to me by the king's order, attended by a flapper. He brought with him, pen, ink, and paper, and three or four books, giving me to understand, by signs, that he was sent to teach me the language. We sat together four hours, in which time I wrote down a great number of words in columns, with the translations over against them: I likewise made a shift to learn several short sentences; for my tutor would order some of my servants to fetch something, to turn about, to make a bow, to sit, or to stand, or walk, and the like. Then I took down the sentence in writing. He shewed me also, in one of the books, the figures of the sun, moon, and stars, the zodiac, the tropics, and polar circles, together with the denominations of many planes and solids. He gave me the names and descriptions of all their musical instruments, and the general terms of art in playing on each of them. After he had left me, I placed all my words, with their interpretations, in alphabetical order. And thus, in a few days, by the help of a very faithful memory, I got some insight into their language.

The word, which I interpret the flying or floating island, is in the original *Laputa*, whereof I could never learn the true etymology. *Lap*, in the old obsolete language, signifies high; and *untuh*, a governor; from which they say, by corruption was driven *Laputa*, from *Lapuntuh*. But I do not approve of this derivation, which seems to be a little strained. I ventured to offer to the learned among them a conjecture of my own, that *Laputa* was *quasi lapouted*; *lap*, signifying properly, the dancing of the sun-beams in the sea, and *outed*, a wing; which, however, I shall not obtrude, but submit to the judicious reader.

Those to whom the king had intrusted me, observing how ill I was clad, ordered a tailor to come next morning, and take measure for a suit of clothes. This operator did his office after a different manner from those of his trade in Europe.

He first took my altitude by a quadrant, and then, with rule and compasses, described the dimension and outlines of my whole body, all which he entered upon paper; and in six days brought my clothes very ill made, and quite out of shape, by happening to mistake a figure in the calculation. But my comfort was, that I observed such accidents very frequent, and little regarded.

During my confinement for want of clothes, and by an indisposition that held me some days longer, I much enlarged my dictionary; and when I went next to court, was able to understand many things the king spoke, and to return him some kind of answers. His majesty had given orders, that the island should move north-east and by east, to the vertical point over Lagado, the metropolis of the whole kingdom below, upon the firm earth. It was about ninety leagues distant, and our voyage lasted four days and a half. I was not in the least sensible of the progressive motion made in the air by the island. On the second morning, about eleven o'clock, the king himself in person, attended by his nobility, courtiers, and officers, having prepared all their musical instruments, played on them for three hours without intermission, so that I was quite stunned with the noise; neither could I possibly guess the meaning, till my tutor informed me. He said, "that the people of their island had their ears adapted to hear the music of the spheres, which always played at certain periods, and the court was now prepared to bear their part, in whatever instrument they most excelled."

In our journey towards Lagado, the capital city, his majesty ordered that the island should stop over certain towns and villages, from whence he might receive the petitions of his subjects. And to this purpose, several packthreads were let down, with small weights at the bottom. On these packthreads the people strung their petitions, which mounted up directly, like the scraps of paper fastened by schoolboys

at the end of a string that holds their kite. Sometimes we received wine and victuals from below, which were drawn up by pulleys.

The knowledge I had in mathematics, gave me great assistance in acquiring their phraseology, which depended much upon that science, and music; and in the latter I was not unskilled. Their ideas are perpetually conversant in lines and figures. If they would, for example, praise the beauty of a woman, or any other animal they describe it by rhombs, circles, parallelograms, ellipses, and other geometrical terms, or by words of art drawn from music, needless here to repeat. I observed in the king's kitchen all sorts of mathematical and musical instruments, after the figures of which they cut up the joints that were served to his majesty's table.

Their houses are very ill built, the walls bevel without one right angle in any apartment; and this defect arises from the contempt they bear to practical geometry, which they despise as vulgar and mechanic: those instructions they give being too refined for the intellects of their workmen, which occasions perpetual mistakes. And although they are dexterous enough upon a piece of paper, in the management of the rule, the pencil, and the divider, yet in the common actions and behaviour of life, I have not seen a more clumsy, awkward, and unhandy people, nor so slow and perplexed in their conceptions upon all other objects, except those of mathematics and music. They are very bad reasoners, and vehemently given to opposition, unless when they happen to be of the right opinion, which is seldom their case. Imagination, fancy, and invention, they are wholly strangers to, nor have any words in their language, by which those ideas can be expressed; the whole compass of their thoughts and mind being shut up within the two forementioned sciences.

Most of them, and especially those who deal in the astronomical part, have great faith in judicial astrology, although

they are ashamed to own it publicly. But what I chiefly admired, and thought altogether unaccountable, was the strong disposition I observed in them towards news and politics, perpetually inquiring into public affairs, giving their judgments in matters of state, and passionately disputing every inch of a party opinion. I have indeed observed the same disposition among most of the mathematicians I have known in Europe, although I could never discover the least analogy between the two sciences, unless those people suppose, that because the smallest circle has as many degrees as the largest, therefore the regulation and management of the world require no more abilities than the handling and turning of a globe; but I rather take this quality to spring from a very common infirmity of human nature, inclining us to be most curious and conceited in matters where we have least concern, and for which we are least adapted by study or nature.

These people are under continual disquietudes, never enjoying a minute's peace of mind: and their disturbances proceed from causes which very little affect the rest of mortals. Their apprehensions arise from several changes they dread in the celestial bodies: for instance, that the earth, by the continual approaches of the sun towards it must, in course of time, be absorbed, or swallowed up; that the face of the sun will, by degrees, be encrusted by its own effluvia, and give no more light to the world; that the earth very narrowly escaped a brush from the tail of the last comet, which would have infallibly reduced it to ashes; and that the next, which they have calculated for one-and-thirty years hence, will probably destroy us. For if, in its perihelion, it should approach within a certain degree of the sun (as by their calculations they have reason to dread), it will receive a degree of heat ten thousand times more intense than that of red hot glowing iron; and, in its absence from the sun, carrying a blazing tail ten hundred thousand and fourteen miles long; through which, if the

earth should pass at the distance of one hundred thousand miles from the nucleus, or main body of the comet, it must in its passage be set on fire, and reduced to ashes: that the sun, daily spending its rays without any nutriment to supply them, will at last be wholly consumed and annihilated; which must be attended with the destruction of this earth, and of all the planets that receive their light from it.*

They are so perpetually alarmed with the apprehensions of these, and the like impending dangers, that they can neither sleep quietly in their beds, nor have any relish for the common pleasures and amusements of life. When they meet an acquaintance in the morning, the first question is about the sun's health, how he looked at his setting and rising, and what hopes they have to avoid the stroke of the approaching comet. This conversation they are apt to run into with the same temper that boys discover in delighting to hear terrible stories of spirits and hobgoblins, which they greedily listen to, and dare not go to bed for fear.

The women of the island have abundance of vivacity: they condemn their husbands, and are exceedingly fond of strangers; whereof there is always a considerable number from the continent below, attending at court either upon affairs of the several towns and corporations, or their own particular occasions, but are much despised, because they want the same endowments. Among these the ladies choose their gallants; but the vexation is, that they act with too much ease and security; for the husband is always so rapt in speculation, that the mistress and lover may proceed to the greatest familiarities before his face, if he be but provided with paper and implements, and without his flapper at his side.

The wives and daughters lament their confinement to the island, although I think it the most delicious spot of ground in

* All these were suppositions of persons eminent in their time for mathematical knowledge.—H.

the world: and although they live here in the greatest plenty and magnificence, and are allowed to do whatever they please, they long to see the world, and take the diversions of the metropolises; which they are not allowed to do without a particular license from the king; and this is not easy to be obtained, because the people of quality have found, by frequent experience, how hard it is to persuade their women to return from below. I was told, that a great court lady, who had several children,—is married to the prime minister, the richest subject in the kingdom, a very graceful person, extremely fond of her, and lives in the finest palace of the island,—went down to Lagado on the pretense of health, there hid herself for several months, till the king sent a warrant to search for her; and she was found in an obscure eating-house all in rags, having pawned her clothes to maintain an old deformed footman, who beat her every day, and in whose company she was taken, much against her will. And although her husband received her with all possible kindness, and without the least reproach, she soon after contrived to steal down again; with all her jewels, to the same gallant, and has not been heard of since.

This may perhaps pass with the reader rather for a European or English story, than for one of a country so remote. But he may please to consider, that the caprices of woman-kind are not limited to any climate or nation, and that they are much more uniform than can be easily imagined.

In about a month's time I had made a tolerable proficiency in their language, and was able to answer most of the king's questions, when I had the honour to attend him. His majesty discovered not the least curiosity to inquire into the laws, government, history, religion, or manners of the countries where I had been; but confined his questions to the state of mathematics, and received the account I gave him with great contempt and indifference, though often roused by his flapper on each side.

CHAPTER III.

A phenomenon solved by modern philosophy and astronomy. The Laputians' great improvement in the latter. The king's method of suppressing insurrections.

I DESIRED leave of the prince to see the curiosities of the island, which he was graciously pleased to grant, and ordered my tutor to attend me. I chiefly wanted to know, to what cause in art or in nature it owed its several motions, whereof I will now give a philosophical account to the reader.

The flying or floating island is exactly circular, its diameter 7837 yards, or about four miles and a half, and consequently contains ten thousand acres. It is three hundred yards thick. The bottom, or under surface, which appears to those who view it below, is one even regular plate of adamant, shooting up to the height of above two hundred yards. Above it lie the several minerals in their usual order, and over all is a coat of rich mould, ten or twelve feet deep. The declivity of the upper surface, from the circumference to the centre, is the natural cause why all the dews and rains, which fall upon the island, are conveyed in small rivulets towards the middle, where they are emptied into four large basins, each of about half a mile in circuit, and two hundred yards distance from the centre. From these basins the water is continually exhaled by the sun in the day-time, which effectually prevents their overflowing. Besides, as it is in the power of the monarch to raise the island above the region of clouds and vapours, he can prevent the falling of dews and rain when

ever he pleases. For the highest clouds cannot rise above two miles, as naturalists agree, at least they were never known to do so in that country.

At the centre of the island there is a chasm about fifty yards in diameter, whence the astronomers descend into a large dome, which is therefore called *flandona gagnole*, or the astronomer's cave, situated at the depth of a hundred yards beneath the upper surface of the adamant. In this cave are twenty lamps continually burning, which, from the reflection of the adamant, cast a strong light into every part. The place is stored with great variety of sextants, quadrants, telescopes, astrolabes, and other astronomical instruments. But the greatest curiosity, upon which the fate of the island depends, is a loadstone of prodigious size, in shape resembling a weaver's shuttle. It is in length six yards, and in the thickest part at least three yards over. This magnet is sustained by a very strong axle of adamant passing through its middle, upon which it plays, and is poised so exactly that the weakest hand can turn it. It is hooped round with a hollow cylinder of adamant, four feet deep, as many thick, and twelve yards in diameter, placed horizontally, and supported by eight adamantine feet, each six yards high. In the middle of the concave side, there is a groove twelve inches deep, in which the extremities of the axle are lodged, and turn round as there is occasion.

The stone cannot be removed from its place by any force, because the hoop and its feet are one continued piece with that body of adamant which constitutes the bottom of the island.

By means of this loadstone the island is made to rise and fall, and move from one place to another. For, with respect to that part of the earth over which the monarch presides, the stone is endued at one of its sides with an attractive power, and at the other with a repulsive. Upon placing the magnet

erect, with its attracting end towards the earth, the island descends; but when the repelling extremity points downwards, the island mounts directly upwards. When the position of the stone is oblique, the motion of the island is so too: for in this magnet, the forces always act in lines parallel to its direction.

By this oblique motion, the island is conveyed to different points of the monarch's dominions. To explain the manner of its progress, let AB represent a line drawn across the dominions of Balnibarbi, let the line cd represent the loadstone, of which let d be the repelling end, and c the attracting end, the island being over C : let the stone be placed in position cd with its repelling end downwards; then the island will be driven upwards obliquely towards D . When it is arrived at D , let the stone be turned upon its axle, till its attracting end points towards E , and then the island will be carried obliquely towards E ; where, if the stone be again turned upon its axle till it stands in the position EF , with its repelling point downwards, the island will rise obliquely towards F , where, by directing the attracting end towards G , the island may be carried to G , and from G to H , by turning the stone so as to make its repelling extremity point directly downward. And thus by changing the situation of the stone, as often as there is occasion, the island is made to rise and fall by turns in an oblique direction, and by those alternate risings and fallings (the obliquity being not considerable) is conveyed from one part of the dominions to the other.

But it must be observed, that this land cannot move beyond the extent of the dominions below, nor can it rise above the height of four miles. For which the astronomers (who have written large systems concerning the stone) assign the following reason: that the magnetic virtue does not extend beyond the distance of four miles, and that the mineral, which acts upon the stone in the bowels of the earth, and in the sea about six leagues distant from the shore, is not diffused through

the whole globe, but terminated with the limits of the king's dominions; and it was easy, from the great advantage of such a superior situation, for a prince to bring under his obedience whatever country lay within the attraction of that magnet.

When the stone is put parallel to the plane of the horizon, the island stands still; for in that case the extremities of it, being at equal distance from the earth, act with equal force, the one in drawing downwards, and the other in pushing upwards, and consequently no motion can ensue.

This loadstone is under the care of certain astronomers, who, from time to time, give it such positions as the monarch directs. They spend the greatest part of their lives in observing the celestial bodies, which they do by the assistance of glasses, far excelling ours in goodness. For, although their largest telescopes do not exceed three feet, they magnify much more than those of a hundred with us, and shew the stars with greater clearness. This advantage has enabled them to extend their discoveries much farther than our astronomers in Europe; for they have made a catalogue of ten thousand fixed stars, whereas the largest of ours does not contain above one-third part of that number. They have likewise discovered two lesser stars, or satellites, which revolve about Mars; whereof the innermost is distant from the centre of the primary planet exactly three of his diameters, and the outermost, five; the former revolves in the space of ten hours, and the latter in twenty-one and a half; so that the squares of their periodical times are very near in the same proportion with the cubes of their distance, from the centre of Mars; which evidently shews them to be governed by the same law of gravitation that influences the other heavenly bodies.

They have observed ninety-three different comets, and settled their periods with great exactness. If this be true (and they affirm it with great confidence) it is much to be wished, that

their observations were made public, whereby the theory of comets, which at present is very lame and defective, might be brought to the same perfection with other parts of astronomy.

The king would be the most absolute prince in the universe, if he could but prevail on a ministry to join with him; but these having their estates below on the continent, and considering that the office of a favourite has a very uncertain tenure, would never consent to the enslaving of their country.

If any town should engage in rebellion or mutiny, fall into violent factions, or refuse to pay the usual tribute, the king has two methods of reducing them to obedience. The first and the mildest course is, by keeping the island hovering over such a town, and the lands about it, whereby he can deprive them of the benefit of the sun and the rain, and consequently afflict the inhabitants with dearth and diseases: and if the crime deserve it, they are at the same time pelted from above with great stones, against which they have no defence but by creeping into cellars or caves, while the roofs of their houses are beaten to pieces. But if they still continue obstinate, or offer to raise insurrections, he proceeds to the last remedy, by letting the island drop directly upon their heads, which makes a universal destruction both of houses and men. However, this is an extremity to which the prince is seldom driven, neither indeed is he willing to put it in execution; nor dare his ministers advise him to an action, which, as it would render them odious to the people, so it would be a great damage to their own estates, which lie all below; for the island is the king's demesne.

But there is still indeed a more weighty reason, why the kings of this country have been always averse from executing so terrible an action, unless upon the utmost necessity. For, if the town intended to be destroyed should have in it any

tall rocks, as it generally falls out in the larger cities, a situation probably chosen at first with a view to prevent such a catastrophe; or if it abound in high spires, or pillars of stone, a sudden fall might endanger the bottom or under surface of the island, which, although it consists, as I have said, of one entire adamant, two hundred yards thick, might happen to crack by too great a shock, or burst by approaching too near the fires from the houses below, as the backs, both of iron and stone, will often do in our chimneys. Of all this the people are well apprized, and understand how far to carry their obstinacy, where their liberty or property is concerned. And the king, when he is highest provoked, and most determined to press a city to rubbish, orders the island to descend with great gentleness, out of a pretence of tenderness to his people, but, indeed, for fear of breaking the adamantine bottom; in which case, it is the opinion of all their philosophers, that the loadstone could no longer hold it up, and the whole mass would fall to the ground.

By a fundamental law of this realm, neither the king, nor either of his two eldest sons, are permitted to leave the island; nor the queen, till she is past child-bearing.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author leaves Laputa; is conveyed to Balnibarbi; arrives at the metropolis—A description of the metropolis, and the country adjoining—The Author hospitably received by a great lord—His conversation with that lord.

ALTHOUGH I cannot say that I was ill treated in this island, yet I must confess I thought myself too much neglected, not without some degree of contempt; for neither prince nor people appeared to be curious in any part of knowledge, except mathematics and music, wherein I was far their inferior, and upon that account very little regarded.

On the other side, after having seen all the curiosities of the island, I was very desirous to leave it, being heartily weary of those people. They were indeed excellent in two sciences for which I have great esteem, and wherein I am not unversed; but at the same time, so abstracted and involved in speculation, that I never met with such disagreeable companions. I conversed only with women, tradesmen, flappers, and court-pages, during two months of my abode there, by which, at last, I rendered myself extremely contemptible; yet these were the only people from whom I could ever receive a reasonable answer.

I had obtained, by hard study, a good degree of knowledge in their language: I was weary of being confined to an island, where I received so little countenance, and resolved to leave it with the first opportunity.

There was a great lord at the court, nearly related to the king, and for that reason alone used with respect. He was

universally reckoned the most ignorant and stupid person among them. He had performed many eminent services for the crown, had great natural and acquired parts, adorned with integrity and honour; but so ill an ear for music, that his detractors reported, "he had been often known to beat time in the wrong place;" neither could his tutors, without extreme difficulty, teach him to demonstrate the most easy propositions in the mathematics. He was pleased to show me many marks of favour, often did me the honour of a visit, desired to be informed in the affairs of Europe, the laws and customs, the manners and learning of the several countries where I had travelled. He listened to me with great attention, and made very wise observations on all I spoke. He had two flappers attending him for state, but never made use of them except at court and in visits of ceremony; and would always command them to withdraw, when we were alone together.

I entreated with this illustrious person to intercede in my behalf with his majesty, for leave to depart; which he accordingly did, as he was pleased to tell me, with regret: for indeed he had made me several offers, very advantageous, which however I refused, with expressions of the highest acknowledgment.

On the 16th of February I took leave of his majesty and the court. The king made me a present to the value of about two hundred pounds English, and my protector, his kinsman, as much more, together with a letter of recommendation to a friend of his in Lagado, the metropolis: the island being then hovering over a mountain about two miles from it, I was let down from the lowest gallery, in the same manner as I had been taken up.

The continent, as far as it is subject to the monarch of the flying island, passes under the general name of *Balnibarbi*; and the metropolis, as I said before, is called *Lugado*. I felt some little satisfaction in finding myself on firm ground. I

walked to the city without any concern, being clad like one of the natives, and sufficiently instructed to converse with them. I soon found out the person's house, to whom I was recommended, presented my letter from his friend the grandee in the island, and was received with much kindness. This great lord, whose name was Munodi, ordered me an apartment in his own house, where I continued during my stay, and was entertained in a most hospitable manner.

The next morning after my arrival, he took me in his chariot to see the town, which is about half the bigness of London; but the houses very strangely built, and most of them out of repair. The people in the streets walked fast, looked wild, their eyes fixed, and were generally in rags. We passed through one of the town gates, and went about three miles into the country, where I saw many labourers working with several sorts of tools in the ground, but was not able to conjecture what they were about; neither did I observe any expectation either of corn or grass, although the soil appeared to be excellent. I could not forbear admiring at these odd appearances, both in town and country; and I made bold to desire my conductor, that he would be pleased to explain to me, what could be meant by so many busy heads, hands, and faces, both in the streets and in the fields, because I did not discover any good effects they produced; but, on the contrary, I never knew a soil so unhappily cultivated, houses so ill contrived and so ruinous, or a people whose countenances and habits expressed so much misery and want.

This Lord Munodi was a person of the first rank, and had been some years governor of Lagado; but by a cabal of ministers, was discharged for inefficiency. However, the king treated him with tenderness, as a well-meaning man, but of a 'ow contemptible understanding.

When I gave that free censure of the country and its inhab-

itants, he made no farther answer than by telling me, "that I had not been long enough among them to form a judgment; and that the different nations of the world had different customs;" with other common topics to the same purpose. But when we returned to his palace, he asked me, "how I liked the building, what absurdities I observed, and what quarrel I had with the dress or looks of his domestics." This he might safely do; because every thing about him was magnificent, regular, and polite. I answered, "that his excellency's prudence, quality and fortune, had exempted him from those defects, which folly and beggary had produced in others." He said, "if I would go with him to his country-house, about twenty miles distant, where his estate lay, there would be more leisure for this kind of conversation." I told his excellency "that I was entirely at his disposal;" and accordingly we set out next morning.

During our journey he made me observe the several methods used by farmers in managing their lands, which to me were wholly unaccountable; for except in some very few places, I could not discover one ear of corn, or blade of grass. But, in three hours' travelling, the scene was wholly altered; we came into a most beautiful country: farmers' houses, at small distances, neatly built; the fields enclosed, containing vineyards, corn-grounds, and meadows. Neither do I remember to have seen a more delightful prospect. His excellency observed my countenance to clear up; he told me with a sigh, "that there his estate began, and would continue the same, till we should come to his house, that his countrymen ridiculed and despised him for managing his affairs no better, and for setting so ill an example to the kingdom; which however, was followed by very few, such as were old, and wilful, and weak like himself."

We came at length to the house, which was indeed a noble structure, built according to the best rules of architec-

ture. The fountains, gardens, walks, avenues, and groves, were all disposed with exact judgment and taste. I gave due praise to every thing I saw, whereof his excellency took not the least notice till after supper; when, there being no third companion, he told me with a very melancholy air "that he doubted he must throw down his houses in town and country to rebuild them after the present mode; destroy all his plantations, and cast others into such a form as modern usage required, and give the same directions to all his tenants unless he would submit to incur the censure of pride, singularity, affectation, ignorance, caprice, and perhaps increase his majesty's displeasure; that the admiration I appeared to be under would cease or diminish, when he had informed me of some particulars which probably I never heard of at court; the people there being too much taken up in their own speculations, to have regard to what passed here below."

The sum of his discourse was to this effect: "that about forty years ago, certain persons went up to Laputa, either upon business or diversion, and, after five months' continuance, came back with a very little smattering in mathematics, but full of volatile spirits, acquired in that airy region: that these persons, upon their return, began to dislike the management of everything below, and fell into schemes of putting all arts, sciences, languages, and mechanics, upon a new foot. To this end, they procured a royal patent for erecting an academy of projectors in Lagado; and the humour prevailed so strongly among the people, that there is not a town of any consequence in the kingdom without such an academy. In these colleges the professors contrive new rules and methods of agriculture and building, and new instruments and tools for all trades and manufactures; whereby, as they undertake one man shall do the work of ten, a palace may be built in a week, of materials so durable as to last for ever without repairing. All the fruits of the earth shall come to maturity at whatever season we

think fit to choose, and increase a hundred fold more than they do at present ; with innumerable other happy proposals. The only inconvenience is, that none of these projects are yet brought to perfection ; and in the mean time, the whole country lies miserably waste, the houses in ruins, and the people without food or clothes. By all which, instead of being discouraged, they are fifty times more violently bent upon prosecuting their schemes, driven equally on by hope and despair : that as for himself, being not of an enterprising spirit, he was content to go on in the old forms, to live in the house his ancestors had built, and act as they did, in every part of life, without innovation : that some few other persons of quality and gentry had done the same, but were looked on with an eye of contempt and ill-will, as enemies to art, ignorant, and ill common-wealth's men, preferring their own ease and sloth before the general improvement of their country."

His lordship added, "that he would not, by any farther particulars, prevent the pleasure I should certainly take in viewing the grand academy, whither he was resolved I should go." He only desired me to observe a ruined building, upon the side of a mountain about three miles distant, of which he gave me this account : "that he had a very convenient mill within half a mile of his house, turned by a current from a large river, and sufficient for his own family, as well as a great number of his tenants ; that about seven years ago, a club of those projectors came to him with proposals to destroy this mill, and build another on the side of that mountain, on the long ridge whereof a long canal must be cut, for a repository of water, to be conveyed up by pipes and engines, to supply the mill : because the wind and air upon a height agitated the water, and thereby made it fitter for motion ; and because the water, descending down a declivity, would turn the mill with half the current of a river, whose course is more upon a level." He said, "that being then not very well with the court, and

pressed by many of his friends, he complied with the proposal : and after employing a hundred men for two years, the work miscarried, the projectors went off, laying the blame entirely upon him, railing at him ever since, and putting others upon the same experiment, with equal assurance of success, as well as equal disappointment."

In a few days we came back to town ; and his excellency, considering the bad character he had in the academy, would not go with me himself, but recommended me to a friend of his, to bear me company thither. My lord was pleased to represent me as a great admirer of projects, and a person of much curiosity and easy belief : which, indeed was not without truth : for I had myself been a sort of projector in my younger days.

CHAPTER. V.

The Author permitted to see the grand academy of Lagado—The academy largely described—The arts wherein the professors employ themselves.

THIS academy is not an entire single building, but a continuation of several houses on both sides of a street, which growing waste, was purchased and applied to that use.

I was received very kindly by the warden, and went for many days to the academy. Every room has in it one or more projectors; and I believe I could not be in fewer than five hundred rooms.

The first man I saw was of a meagre aspect, with sooty hands and face, his hair and beard long, ragged, and singed in several places. His clothes, shirt, and skin, were all of the same colour. He had been eight years upon a project for extracting sunbeams out of cucumbers, which were to be put in phials hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the air in raw inclement summers. He told me, he did not doubt, that in eight years more, he should be able to supply the governor's gardens with sunshine, at a reasonable rate; but he complained that his stock was low, and entreated me "to give him something as an encouragement to ingenuity, especially since this had been a very dear season for cucumbers." I made him a small present, for my lord had furnished me with money on purpose, because he knew their practice of begging from all who go to see them.

I went into another chamber, but was ready to hasten back,

being almost overcome with a horrible stink. My conductor pressed me forward, conjuring me in a whisper "to give no offence, which would be highly resented;" and therefore I durst not so much as stop my nose. The projector of this cell was the most ancient student of the academy; his face and beard were of a pale yellow; his hands and clothes daubed over with filth. When I was presented to him, he gave me a close embrace; a compliment I could well have excused. His employment, from his first coming into the academy, was an operation to reduce human excrement to its original food, by separating the several parts, removing the tincture which it receives from the gall, making the odour exhale, and scumming off the saliva. He had a weekly allowance, from the society, of a vessel filled with human ordure, about the bigness of a Bristol barrel.

I saw another at work to calcine ice into gunpowder; who likewise shewed me a treatise he had written concerning the malleability of fire, which he intended to publish.

There was a most ingenious architect, who had contrived a new method for building houses, by beginning at the roof and working downward to the foundation; which he justified to me, by the like practice of those two prudent insects, the bee and the spider.

There was a man born blind, who had several apprentices in his own condition: their employment was to mix colours for painters, which their masters taught them to distinguish, by feeling and smelling. It was indeed my misfortune to find them at that time not very perfect in their lessons, and the professor himself happened to be generally mistaken. This artist is much encouraged and esteemed by the whole fraternity.

In another apartment, I was highly pleased with a projector who had found a device of ploughing the ground with hogs, to save the charges of ploughs, cattle, and labour.

is this : in an acre of ground you bury, at six inches' distance and eight deep, a quantity of acorns, dates, chesnuts, and other mast or vegetables, whereof these animals are fondest ; then you drive six hundred of them into the field, where, in a few days, they will root up the whole ground in search of their feed, and make it fit for sowing, at the same time manuring it with their dung : it is true, upon experiment, they found the charge and trouble very great, and they had little or no crop. However, it is not doubted, that his invention may be capable of great improvement.

I went into another room, where the walls and ceiling were all hung round with cobwebs, except a narrow passage for the artist to go in and out. At my entrance he called aloud to me, "not to disturb his webs." He lamented "the fatal mistake the world had been so long in, of using silk worms, while we had such plenty of domestic insects who infinitely excelled the former, because they understood how to weave, as well as spin." And he proposed farther, "that by employing spiders, the charge of dyeing silk should be wholly saved ;" whereof I was fully convinced, when he shewed me a vast number of flies most beautifully coloured, wherewith he fed his spiders, assuring us "that the webs would take a tincture from them ; and as he had had them of all hues, he hoped to fit every body's fancy, as soon as he could find proper food for the flies, certain of gums, oils, and other glutinous matter, to give a strength and consistence to the threads."

There was an astronomer, who had undertaken to place a sun-dial upon the great weathercock on the town-house, by adjusting the annual and diurnal motions of the earth and sun, so as to answer and coincide with all accidental turnings of the wind.

I was complaining of a small fit of the colic, upon which my conductor led me into a room where a great physician resided, who was famous for curing that disease, by contrary operations

from the same instrument. He had a large pair of bellows, with a long slender muzzle of ivory; this he conveyed eight inches up the anus, and drawing in the wind, he affirmed he could make the guts as lank as a dried bladder. But when the disease was more stubborn and violent, he let in the muzzle while the bellows were full of wind, which he discharged into the body of the patient; then withdrew the instrument to replenish it, clapping his thumb strongly against the orifice of the fundament; and this being repeated three or four times, the adventitious wind would rush out, bringing the noxious along with it (like water put into a pump), and the patient recovered. I saw him try both experiments upon a dog, but could not discern any effect from the former. After the latter, the animal was ready to burst, and made so violent a discharge as was very offensive to me and my companion. The dog died on the spot, and we left the doctor endeavouring to recover him, by the same operation.

I visited many other apartments, but shall not trouble my reader with all the curiosities I observed, being studious of brevity.

I had hitherto seen only one side of the academy, the other being appropriated to the advancers of speculative learning, of whom I shall say something, when I have mentioned one illustrious person more, who is called among them "the universal artist." He told us "he had been thirty years employing his thoughts for the improvement of human life." He had two large rooms full of wonderful curiosities, and fifty men at work. Some were condensing air into a dry tangible substance, by extracting the nitre, and letting the aqueous or fluid particles percolate; others softening marble, for pillows and pin-cushions; others petrifying the hoofs of a living horse, to preserve them from foundering. The artist himself was at that time busy upon two great designs; the first, to sow land with chaff, wherein he affirmed the true seminal virtue to be

contained, as he demonstrated by several experiments, which I was not skilful enough to comprehend. The other was, by a certain composition of gums, minerals, and vegetable, outwardly applied, to prevent the growth of wool upon two young lambs; and he hoped, in a reasonable time, to propagate the breed of naked sheep, all over the kingdom.

We crossed a walk to the other part of the academy, where, as I have already said, the projectors in speculative learning resided.

The first professor I saw was in a very large room, with forty pupils about him. After salutation, observing me to look earnestly upon a frame, which took up the greatest part of both the length and breadth of the room, he said, "Perhaps I might wonder to see him employed in a project for improving speculative knowledge, by practical and mechanical operations. But the world would soon be sensible of its usefulness; and he flattered himself, that a more noble exalted thought never sprang in any other man's head. Every one knew how laborious the usual method is of attaining to arts and sciences; whereas, by his contrivance, the most ignorant person, at a reasonable charge, and with a little bodily labour, might write books in philosophy, poetry, politics, laws mathematics, and theology, without the least assistance from genius or study." He then led me to the frame, about the sides whereof all his pupils stood in ranks. It was twenty feet square, placed in the middle of the room. The superficies was composed of several bits of wood, about the bigness of a die, but some larger than others. They were all linked together by slender wires. These bits of wood were covered, on every square, with paper pasted on them; on these papers were written all the words of their language, in their several moods, tenses, and declensions; but without any order. The professor then desired me "to observe; for he was going to set his engine at work." The pupils, at his command, took each of them hold of an iron

nandle, whereof there were forty fixed round the edges of the frame; and giving them a sudden turn, the whole disposition of the words was entirely changed. He then commanded six-and-thirty of the lads, to read the several lines softly, as they appeared on the frame; and where they found three or four words together that might make part of a sentence they dictated to the four remaining boys, who were scribes. This work was repeated three or four times; and at every turn, the the engine was so contrived, that the words shifted into new places, as the square bits of wood moved upside down.

Six hours a day the young students were employed in this labour; and the professor shewed me several volumes in large folio, already collected of broken sentences, which he intended to piece together, and out of these rich materials, to give the world a complete body of all arts and sciences; which, however, might be still improved and much expedited, if the public would raise a fund for making and employing five hundred such frames in Lagado, and oblige the managers to contribute in common their several collections.

He assured me "that the invention had employed all his thoughts from his youth; that he had entered the whole vocabulary into his frame, and made the strictest computation of the general proportion there is in books between the numbers of particles, nouns, and verbs, and other parts of speech."

I made my humblest acknowledgement to this illustrious person, for his great communicativeness; and promised, "if ever I had the good fortune to return to my native country, that I would do him justice, as the sole inventor of this wonderful machine;" the form and contrivance of which I desired leave to delineate on paper, as in the figure here annexed. I told him, "although it was the custom of our learned in Europe to steal inventions from each other, who had thereby at least this advantage, that it became a controversy which

was the right owner; yet I would take such caution, that he should have the honour entire without a rival."

We next went to the school of languages where three professors sat in consultation upon improving that of their own country.

The first project was, to shorten discourse, by cutting polysyllables into one, and leaving out verbs and participles; because, in reality, all things imaginable are but nouns.

The other project was, a scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatsoever; and this was urged as a great advantage in point of health, as well as brevity. For it is plain, that every word we speak, is in some degree, a diminution of our lungs by corrosion; and consequently contributes to the shortening our lives. An expedient was therefore offered, "that since words are only names for things, it would be more convenient for all men to carry about them such things as were necessary to express a particular business they are to discourse on." And this invention would certainly have taken place, to the great ease as well as health of the subject, if the women, in conjunction with the vulgar and illiterate, had not threatened to raise a rebellion unless they might be allowed the liberty to speak with their tongues after the manner of their forefathers; such constant irreconcilable enemies to science are the common people. However, many of the most learned and wise adhere to the new scheme of expressing themselves by things; which has only this inconvenience attending it, that if a man's business be very great, and of various kinds, he must be obliged, in proportion, to carry a greater bundle of things upon his back, unless he can afford one or two strong servants to attend him. I have often beheld two of these sages almost sinking under the weight of their packs, like pedlars among us; who, when they met in the street, would lay down their loads, open their packs, and hold conversation for an hour together; then

put up their implements, help each other to resume their burdens, and take their leave.

But for short conversations, a man may carry implements in his pockets, and under his arms, enough to supply him; and in his house, he cannot be at a loss. Therefore the room where company meet to practise this art, is full of all things, ready at hand, requisite to furnish matter for this kind of artificial converse.

Another great advantage proposed by this invention, was that it would serve a universal language, to be understood in all civilized nations, whose goods and utensils are generally of the same kind, or nearly resembling, so that their uses might easily be comprehended. And thus ambassadors would be qualified to treat with foreign princes, or ministers of state to whose tongues they were utter strangers.

I was at the mathematical school, where the master taught his pupils after a method scarce imaginable to us in Europe. The proposition, and demonstration, were fairly written on a thin wafer, with ink composed of a cephalic tincture. This the student was to swallow upon a fasting stomach, and for three days following eat nothing but bread and water. As the wafer digested, the tincture mounted to his brain, bearing the proposition along with it. But the success has not hitherto been answerable, partly by some error in the quantum or composition, and partly by the perverseness of lads, to whom this bolus is so nauseous, that they generally steal aside, and discharge it upwards, before it can operate; neither have they yet been persuaded to use so long an abstinence as the prescription requires.

CHAPTER VI.

A further account of the academy—The Author proposes some improvements, which are honourably received.

IN the school of political projectors, I was but ill entertained; the professors appearing, in my judgment, wholly out of their senses; which is a scene that never fails to make me melancholy. These unhappy people were proposing schemes for persuading monarchs to choose favourites upon the score of their wisdom, capacity, and virtue; of teaching ministers to consult the public good; of rewarding merit, great abilities, and eminent services; of instructing princes to know their true interest, by placing it on the same foundation with that of their people; of choosing for employments, persons qualified to exercise them; with many other wild impossible chimeras, that never entered before into the heart of a man to conceive; and confirmed in me the old observation, “that there is nothing so extravagant and irrational, which some philosophers have not maintained for truth.”

But, however, I shall so far do justice to this part of the academy, as to acknowledge that all of them were not so visionary. There was a most ingenious doctor, who seemed to be perfectly versed in the whole nature and system of government. This illustrious person had very usefully employed his studies, in finding out effectual remedies for all diseases and corruptions, to which the several kinds of public administration are subject, by the vices or infirmities of those

who govern, as well as by the licentiousness of those who are to obey. For instance; whereas all writers and reasoners have agreed, that there is a strict universal resemblance between the natural and the political body; can there be any thing more evident, than that the health of both must be preserved, and the disease cured, by the same prescriptions? It is allowed, that senates and great councils are often troubled with redundant, ebullient, and other peccant humours; with many diseases of the head, and more of the heart; with strong convulsions, with grievous contractions of the nerves and sinews in both hands, but especially the right; with spleen, flatus, vertigoes, and deliriums; with scrofulous tumours, full of fetid purulent matter; with sour frothy eructations; with canine appetites, and crudeness of digestion, besides many others, needless to mention. This doctor therefore proposed, "that upon the meeting of the senate, certain physicians should attend at the three first days of their sitting, and at the close of each day's debate feel the pulses of every senator; after which, having maturely considered and consulted upon the nature of the several maladies, and the methods of cure, they should on the fourth day return to the senate-house, attended by their apothecaries stored with proper medicines; and before the members sat, administer to each of them lenitives, aperients, abstersives, corrosives, restringents, palliatives, laxatives, cephalalgics, icterics, aphlegmatics, acoustics, as their several cases required; and, according as these medicines should operate, repeat, alter, or omit them, at the next meeting."

This project could not be of any great expense to the public; and might, in my poor opinion, be of much use for the dispatch of business, in those countries where senates have any share in the legislative power; beget unanimity, shorten debates, open a few mouths which are now closed, and close many more which are now open; curb the petulancy of the

young, and correct the positiveness of the old ; rouse the stupid, and damp the pert.

Again : because it is a general complaint, that the favourites of princes are troubled with short and weak memories ; the same doctor proposed, "that whoever attended a first minister, after having told his business, with the utmost brevity and in the plainest words, should, at his departure, give the said minister a tweak by the nose, or a kick on the belly, or tread on his corns, or lug him twice by both ears, or run a pin into his breech, or pinch his arm black and blue, to prevent forgetfulness ; and at every levee day to repeat the same operation, till the business were done, or absolutely refused."

He likewise directed, "that every senator in the great council of a nation, after he had delivered his opinion and argued in the defence of it, should be obliged to give his vote directly contrary ; because if that were done, the result would infallibly terminate in the good of the public."

When parties in a state are violent, he offered a wonderful contrivance to reconcile them. The method is this : you take a hundred leaders of each party ; you dispose them into couples of such whose heads are nearest of a size ; then let two nice operators saw off the occiput of each couple at the same time, in such a manner, that the brain may be equally divided. Let the occiputs, thus cut off, be interchanged, applying each to the head of his opposite party-man. It seems indeed to be a work that requires some exactness, but the professor assured us, "that if it were dexterously performed, the cure would be infallible." For he argued thus : "that the two half brains being left to debate the matter between themselves within the space of one skull, would soon come to a good understanding ; and produce that moderation, as well as regularity of thinking, so much to be wished for in the heads of those, who imagine they come into the world only to watch and govern its motion : and as to the difference of brains, in

quantity or quality, among those who are directors in faction," the doctor assured us, from his own knowledge, "that it was a perfect trifle."

I heard a very warm debate between two professors, about the most commodious and effectual ways and means of raising money, without grieving the subject. The first affirmed, "the justest method would be, to lay a certain tax upon vices and folly; and the sum fixed upon every man to be rated, after the fairest manner, by a jury of his neighbours." The second was of an opinion directly contrary; "to tax those qualities of body and mind, for which men chiefly value themselves; the rate to be more or less, according to the degrees of excelling; the decision whereof should be left entirely to their own breast." The highest tax was upon men who are the greatest favourites of the other sex, and the assessments, according to the number and nature of the favours they have received; for which, they are allowed to be their own vouchers. Wit, valour, and politeness, were likewise proposed to be largely taxed, and collected in the same manner, by every person's giving his own word for the quantum of what he possessed. But as to honour, justice, wisdom, and learning, they should not be taxed at all; because they are qualifications of so singular a kind, that no man will either allow them in his neighbour or value them in himself.

The women were proposed to be taxed according to their beauty and skill in dressing, wherein they had the same privilege with the men, to be determined by their own judgment. But constancy, chastity, good sense, and good nature, were not rated, because they would not bear the charge of collecting.

To keep senators in the interest of the crown, it was proposed that the members shall raffle for employments; every man first taking an oath, and giving security, that he would vote for the court, whether he won or not; after which

the losers had, in their turn, the liberty of raffling upon the next vacancy. Thus, hope and expectation would be kept alive; none would complain of broken promises, but impute their disappointments wholly to fortune, whose shoulders are broader and stronger than those of a ministry.

Another professor showed me a large paper of instructions for discovering plots and conspiracies against the government. He advised great statesmen to examine into the diet of all suspected persons; their times of eating; upon which side they lay in bed; with which hand they wiped their posteriors; take a strict view of their excrements, and from the colour, the odour, the taste, the consistence, the crudeness or maturity of digestion, form a judgment of their thoughts and designs; because men are never so serious, thoughtful, and intent, as when they are at stool, which he found by experience: for, in such conjunctures, when he used, merely as a trial, to consider which was the best way of murdering the king, his ordure would have a tincture of green: but quite different when he thought only of raising an insurrection, or burning the metropolis.

The whole discourse was written with great acuteness, containing many observations, both curious and useful for politicians; but, as I conceived, not altogether complete. This I ventured to tell the author, and offered, if he pleased to supply him with some additions. He received my proposition with more compliance than is usual among writers, especially those of the projecting species; professing "he would be glad to receive further information."

I told him, "that in the kingdom of Tribnia, by the natives called Langden, where I had sojourned some time in my travels, the bulk of the people consist in a manner wholly of discoverers, witnesses, informers, accusers, prosecutors, evidences, swearers, together with their several subservient and subaltern instruments, all under the colours, the contract, and

the pay of ministers of state, and their deputies. The plots, in that kingdom, are usually the workmanship of those persons who desire to raise their own characters of profound politicians; to restore new vigour to a crazy administration; to stifle or divert general discontents; to fill their coffers with forfeitures; and raise or sink the opinion of public credit, as either shall answer their private advantage. It is first agreed and settled among them, what suspected persons shall be accused of a plot; then effectual care is taken to secure all their letters and papers, and put the owners in chains. These papers are delivered to a set of artists, very dexterous in finding out the mysterious meanings of words, syllables, and letters: for instance, they can discover a close stool, to signify a privy-council; a flock of geese, a senate; a lame dog,* an invader; the plague, a standing army; a buzzard, a prime minister; the gout, a high priest; a gibbet, a secretary of state; a chamber-pot, a committee of grandees; a sieve, a court lady; a broom a revolution; a mouse-trap, an employment; a bottomless pit, a treasury; a sink, a court; a cap, and bells, a favourite; a broken reed, a court of justice; an empty tun, a general; a running sore, the administration.

“When this method fails, they have two others more effectual, which the learned among them call acrostics and anagrams. First, they can decipher all initial letters into political meanings. Thus, *N* shall signify a plot; *B*, a regiment of horse; *L*, a fleet at sea: or secondly, by transposing the letters of the alphabet in any suspected paper, they can lay open the deepest designs of a discontented party. So, for example, if I should say in a letter to a friend, ‘Our brother Tom has just got the piles,’ a skilful decipherer would discover, that the same letters which compose that sentence,

* See the proceedings against Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, in the State Trials, vol. vi.—H.

may be analyzed into the following words, 'Resist—a plot is brought home—The tour.' And this is the anagrammatic method."

The professor made me great acknowledgments for communicating these observations, and promised to make honourable mention of me in his treatise.

I saw nothing in this country that could invite me to a longer continuance, and began to think of returning home to England.

CHAPTER. VII.

The Author leaves Lagado, arrives at Maldonada—No ship ready—He takes a voyage to Glubbudbrib—His reception by the governor.

THE continent, of which this kingdom is a part, extends itself as I have reason to believe, eastward, to that unknown tract of America westward of California; and north to the Pacific Ocean, which is not above a hundred and fifty miles from Lagado; where there is a good port, and much commerce with the great island of Luggnagg, situated to the north-west about 29 degrees north latitude, and 140 longitude. This island of Luggnagg stands south-eastward of Japan, about a hundred leagues distant. There is a strict alliance between the Japanese emperor and the king of Luggnagg; which affords frequent opportunities of sailing from one island to the other. I determined therefore to direct my course this way, in order to my return to Europe. I hired two mules, with a guide to show me the way, and carry my small baggage. I took leave of my noble protector who had shewn me so much favour, and made me a generous present at my departure.

My journey was without any accident or adventure worth relating. When I arrived at the port of Maldonada (for so it is called) there was no ship in the harbour bound for Luggnagg, nor likely to be in some time. The town is about as large as Portsmouth. I soon fell into some acquaintance, and was very hospitably received. A gentleman of distinction

said to me, "that since the ships bound for Luggnagg could not be ready in less than a month, it might be no disagreeable amusement for me to take a trip to the little island of Glubb-dubdrib, about five leagues off to the south-west." He offered himself and a friend to accompany me, and that I should be provided with a small convenient bark for the voyage.

Glubb-dubdrib, as near as I can interpret the word, signifies the island of sorcerers or magicians. It is about one-third as large as the Isle of Wight, and extremely fruitful: it is governed by the head of a certain tribe, who are all magicians. This tribe marries only among each other, and the eldest in succession is prince or governor. He has a noble palace, and a park of about three thousand acres, surrounded by a wall of hewn stone twenty feet high. In this park are several small enclosures for cattle, corn, and gardening.

The governor and his family are served and attended by domestics of a kind somewhat unusual. By his skill in necromancy, he has a power of calling whom he pleases from the dead, and commanding their service for twenty-four hours, but no longer; nor can he call the same persons up again in less than three months, except upon very extraordinary occasions.

When we arrived at the island, which was about eleven in the morning, one of the gentlemen who accompanied me went to the governor, and desire admittance for a stranger, who came on purpose to have the honour of attending on his highness. This was immediately granted, and we all three entered the gate of the palace between two rows of guards armed and dressed after a very antick manner, and something in their countenances that made my flesh creep with a horror I cannot express. We passed through several apartments, between servants of the same sort, ranked on each side as before, till we came to the chamber of presence; where, after three profound obeisances, and a few general questions,

we were permitted to sit on three stools, near the lowest step of his highness's throne. He understood the language of Balinbarbi, although it was different from that of this island. He desired me to give him some account of my travels; and, to let me see that I should be treated without ceremony, he dismissed all his attendants with a turn of his finger; at which, to my great astonishment, they vanished in an instant, like visions in a dream when we awake on a sudden. I could not recover myself in some time till the governor assured me, "that I should receive no hurt:" and observing my two companions to be under no concern, who had been often entertained in the same manner, I began to take courage, and related to his highness a short history of my several adventures, yet not without some hesitation, and frequently looking behind me to the place where I had seen those domestic spectres. I had the honour to dine with the governor, where a new set of ghosts served up the meat, and waited at table. I now observed myself to be less terrified than I had been in the mornig. I strayed till sunset, but humbly desired his highness to excuse me for not accepting his invitation of lodging in the palace. My two friends and I lay at a private house in the town adjoining, which is the capital of this little island; and the next morning we returned to pay our duty to the governor as he was pleased to command us.

After this manner we continued in the island for ten days, most part of every day with the governor, and at night in our lodging. I soon grew so familiarized to the sight of spirits, that after the third or fourth time they gave me no emotion at all; or if I had any apprehensions left, my curiosity prevailed over them. For his highness the governor ordered me to call up whatever persons I would choose to name, and in whatever numbers, among all the dead from the beginning of the world to the present time, and command them to answer any questions I should think fit to ask; with this condition

that my questions must be confined within the compass of the times they lived in. And one thing I might depend upon, that they would certainly tell me the truth, for lying was a talent of no use in the lower world.

I made my humble acknowledgments to his highness for so great a favour. We were in a chamber, from whence there was a fair prospect into the park. And because my first inclination was to be entertained with scenes of pomp and magnificence, I desired to see Alexander the Great at the head of his army, just after the battle of Arbela: which, upon a motion of the governor's finger, immediately appeared in a large field, under the window where we stood. Alexander was called up into the room; it was with great difficulty that I understood his Greek,* and had but little of my own. He assured me upon his honour, that he was not poisoned, but died of a bad fever by excessive drinking.†

Next, I saw Hannibal passing the Alps, who told me, "he had not a drop of vinegar in his camp."‡

I saw Cæsar and Pompey at the head of their troops, just ready to engage. I saw the former, in the last great triumph. I desired that the senate of Rome might appear before me, in one large chamber, and a modern representative in counter-view, in another. The first seemed to be an assembly of heroes and demi-gods; the other, a knot of pedlars, pickpockets, highwaymen, and bullies.

* A hint from Gulliver that we have lost the true *Greek* idiom.—*Orrery*.

† In this passage there is a peculiar beauty, though it is not discovered at a hasty view. The appearance of Alexander with a victorious army immediately after the battle of Arbela, produces only a declaration that he died by drunkenness; thus inadequate and ridiculous to the eye of reason is that ultimate purpose for which Alexander with his army marched into a remote country, subverted a mighty empire, and deluged a nation with blood: he gained no more than an epithet to his name, which, after a few repetitions, was no longer regarded even by himself. Thus the purpose of his resurrection appears to be at least equally important with that of his life, upon which it is a satire not more bitter than just.—H.

‡ Livy, the Roman historian, has related, that Hannibal burnt a great pile of wood upon a rock that stopped his passage, and when it was thus heated poured vinegar upon it by which it was made so soft as to be easily cut through.—H.

The governor, at my request, gave the sign for Cæsar and Brutus to advance towards us. I was struck with a profound veneration at the sight of Brutus, and could easily discover the most consummate virtue, the greatest intrepidity and firmness of mind, the truest love of his country, and general benevolence of mankind, in every lineament of his countenance. I observed, with much pleasure, that these two persons were in good intelligence with each other; and Cæsar freely confessed to me, "that the greatest actions of his own life were not equal, by many degrees, to the glory of taking it away." I had the honour to have much conversation with Brutus; and was told, "that his ancestor Junius, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the younger,"* Sir Thomas More, and himself, were perpetually together:" a sextumvirate, to which all the ages of the world cannot add a seventh.

It would be tedious to trouble the reader with relating what vast numbers of illustrious persons were called up, to gratify that insatiable desire I had to see the world in every period of antiquity placed before me. I chiefly fed mine eyes with beholding the destroyers of tyrants and usurpers, and the restorers of liberty to oppressed and injured nations. But it is impossible to express the satisfaction I received in my own mind, after such a manner as to make it a suitable entertainment to the reader.

* I am in some doubt whether Cato the *ensor* can fairly claim a rank among so choice a group of ghosts.—*Orrery*. This note of his lordship is an encomium on the judgment of our author, who knew that Cato the *ensor* and Cato the *younger* were very different persons, and for good reason preferred the *latter*.—H.

CHAPTER VIII.

A farther account of Glubbudbrib—Ancient and modern history corrected.

HAVING a desire to see those ancients who were most renowned for wit and learning, I set apart one day on purpose. I proposed that Homer and Aristotle might appear at the head of all their commentators; but these were so numerous, that some hundreds were forced to attend in the court, and outward rooms of the palace. I knew, and could distinguish those two heroes, at first sight, and not only from the crowd, but from each other. Homer was the taller and comelier person of the two, walked very erect for one of his age, and his eyes were the most quick and piercing I ever beheld. Aristotle stooped much, and made use of a staff. His visage was meagre, his hair lank and thin, and his voice hollow.* I soon discovered that both of them were perfect strangers to the rest of the company, and had never seen or heard of them before; and I had a whisper from a ghost who shall be nameless, “that these commentators always kept in the most distant quarters from their principals, in the lower world, through a consciousness of shame and guilt, because they

* This description of Aristotle is fine, and, in a few words, represents the true nature of his works. By not having the immortal spirit of Homer, he was unable to keep his body erect; and his staff, which feebly supported him, like his commentators, made this defect more conspicuous. He wanted not some useful qualities, but these *real ornaments*, like his hair, were thin and ungraceful.—*Orrery*. In this the noble commentator seems to be mistaken, for it cannot be believed, that Aristotle's *real ornaments*, however few, were *ungraceful*.—H.

had so horribly misrepresented the meaning of those authors to posterity." I introduced Didymus and Eustathius to Homer, and prevailed on him to treat them better than perhaps they deserved, for he soon found they wanted a genius to enter into the spirit of a poet. But Aristotle was out of all patience with the account I gave him of Scotus and Ramus, as I presented them to him; and he asked them, "whether the rest of the tribe were as great dunces as themselves?"

I then desired the governor to call up Descartes and Gassendi, with whom I prevailed to explain their systems to Aristotle. This great philosopher freely acknowledged his own mistakes in natural philosophy, because he proceeded in many things upon conjecture, as all men must do; and he found that Gassendi, who had made the doctrine of Epicurus as palatable as he could, and the vortices of Descartes, were equally to be exploded. He predicted the same fate to attraction, whereof the present learned are such zealous assertors. He said, "that new systems of nature were but new fashions, which would vary in every age; and even those, who pretend to demonstrate them from mathematical principles, would flourish but a short period of time, and be out of vogue when that was determined."

I spent five days in conversing with many others of the ancient learned. I saw most of the Roman emperors. I prevailed on the governor to call up Heliogabalus's cooks to dress us a dinner, but they could not shew us much of their skill, for want of materials. A helot of Agesilaus made us a dish of Spartan broth, but I was not able to get down a second spoonful.

The two gentlemen, who conducted me to the island, were pressed by their private affairs to return in three days, which I employed in seeing some of the modern dead, who had made the greatest figure, for two or three hundred years past,

in our own and other countries of Europe ; and having been always a great admirer of old illustrious families, I desired the governor would call up a dozen or two of kings, with their ancestors in order for eight or nine generations. But my disappointment was grievous and unexpected. For, instead of a long train with royal diadems, I saw in one family two fiddlers, three spruce courtiers, and an Italian prelate. In another, a barber, an abbot, and two cardinals. I have too great a veneration for crowned heads to dwell any longer on so nice a subject. But as to counts, marquises, dukes, earls, and the like, I was not so scrupulous. And I confess, it was not without some pleasure, that I found myself able to trace the particular features, by which certain families are distinguished, up to their originals. I could plainly discover whence one family derives a long chin ; why a second has abounded with knaves for two generations, and fools for two more ; why a third happened to be crack-brained, and a fourth to be sharpeners : whence it came, what Polydore Virgil says of a certain great house. *Nec vir fortis, nec fœmina casta* ; how cruelty, falsehood, and cowardice, grew to be characteristics, by which certain families are distinguished as much as by their coats of arms ; who first brought the pox into a noble house, which has lineally descended in scrofulous tumours to their posterity. Neither could I wonder at all this, when I saw such an interruption of lineages, by pages, lackeys, valets, coachmen, gamesters, fiddlers, players, captains, and pickpockets.

I was chiefly disgusted with modern history. For having strictly examined all the persons of greatest name in the courts of princes, for a hundred years past, I found how the world had been misled by prostitute writers, to ascribe the greatest exploits in war, to cowards ; the wisest counsel, to fools ; sincerity, to flatterers ; Roman virtue, to betrayers of their country ; piety, to atheists ; chastity to sodomites.

truth, to informers : how many innocent and excellent persons had been condemned to death or banishment, by the practising of great ministers upon the corruption of judges, and the malice of factions ; how many villains had been exalted to the highest places of trust, power, dignity, and profit : how great a share in the motions and events of courts, councils, and senates, might be challenged by bawds, whores, pimps, parasites, and buffoons. How low an opinion I had of human wisdom and integrity, when I was truly informed of the springs and motives of great enterprises and revolutions in the world, and of the contemptible accidents to which they owed their success !

Here I discovered the roguery and ignorance of those who pretend to write anecdotes, or secret history ; who send so many kings to their graves with a cup of poison ; will repeat the discourse between a prince and chief minister, where no witness was by ; unlock the thoughts and cabinets of ambassadors and secretaries of state ; and have the perpetual misfortune to be mistaken. Here I discovered the true causes of many great events that have surprised the world ; how a whore can govern the back-stairs, the back-stairs a council, and the council a senate. A general confessed in my presence, "that he got a victory purely by the force of cowardice and ill conduct ;" and an admiral, "that for want of proper intelligence, he beat the enemy, to whom he intended to betray the fleet." Three kings protested to me, "that in their whole reigns they never did once prefer any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided : neither would they do it if they were to live again : " and they shewed me with great strength of reason, "that the royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because that positive, confident, restive temper, which virtue infused into a man, was a perpetual clog to public business."

I had the curiosity to inquire, in a particular manner, by

what methods great members had procured to themselves high titles of honour, and prodigious estates; and I confined my inquiry to a very modern period: however, without gratifying upon present times, because I would be sure to give no offence even to foreigners: for I hope the reader need not be told, that I do not in the least intend my own country, in what I say upon this occasion. A great number of persons concerned were called up; and, upon a very slight examination, discovered such a scene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness. Perjury, oppression, subornation, fraud, pandarism, and the like infirmities, were among the most excusable arts they had to mention; and for these I gave, as it was reasonable, great allowance. But when some confessed they owed their greatness and wealth to sodomy, or incest; others, to the prostituting of their own wives and daughters; others, to the betraying of their country or their prince; some, to poisoning; more to the perverting of justice, in order to destroy the innocent: I hope I may be pardoned, if these discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound veneration, which I am naturally apt to pay to persons of high rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost respect due to their sublime dignity, by us their inferiors.

I had often read of some great services done to princes and states, and desired to see persons by whom those services were performed. Upon inquiry, I was told, "that their names were to be found on no record, except a few of them, whom history has represented as the vilest of rogues and traitors." As to the rest, I had never once heard of them. They all appeared with dejected looks, and in the meanest habit; most of them telling me, "they died in poverty and disgrace," and the rest on a scaffold or on a gibbet.

Among others, there was one person, whose case appeared a little singular. He had a youth about eighteen years old

standing by his side. He told me "he had for many years been commander of a ship; in the sea-fight at Actium had the good fortune to break through the enemy's great line of battle, sink three of their capital ships, and take a fourth, which was the sole cause of Antony's flight, and of the victory that ensued; that the youth standing by him, his only son, was killed in the action." He added, "that upon the confidence of some merit, the war being at an end, he went to Rome and solicited at the court of Augustus to be preferred to a greater ship, whose commander had been killed; but without any regard to his pretensions, it was given to a boy who had never seen the sea, the son of Libertina, who waited on one of the emperor's mistresses. Returning back to his own vessel, he was charged with neglect of duty, and the ship given to a favourite page of Publicola, the vice admiral; whereupon he retired to a small farm at a great distance from Rome, and there ended his life." I was so curious to know the truth of this story, that I desired Agrippa might be called, who was admiral in that fight. He appeared, and confirmed the whole account; but with much more advantage to the captain, whose modesty had extenuated or concealed a great part of his merit.

I was surprised to find corruption grown so high and so quick in that empire by the force of luxury so lately introduced, which made me less wonder at many parallel cases in other countries, where vices of all kinds have reigned so much longer, and where the whole praise, as well as pillage, has been engrossed by the chief commander, who perhaps had the least title to honour.

As every person called up made exactly the same appearance he had done in the world, it gave me melancholy reflections to observe, how much the race of human kind was degenerated among us, within these hundred years past; how the pox, under all its consequences and denominations, had

altered every lineament of an English countenance; shortened the size of bodies, unbraced the nerves, relaxed the sinews and muscle, introduced a sallow complexion, and rendered the flesh loose and rancid.

I descended so low, as to desire some English yeomen of the old stamp might be summoned to appear; once so famous for the simplicity of their manners, diet, and dress; for justice in their dealings; for their true spirit of liberty; for their valour, and love of their country. Neither could I be wholly unmoved, after comparing the living with the dead, when I considered how all these pure native virtues were prostituted for a piece of money by their grandchildren; who, in selling their votes and managing at elections, have acquired every vice and corruption that can possibly be learned in a court.

CHAPTER IX.

The Author returns to Maldonada—Sails to the kingdom of Luggnagg—The Author confined—He is sent for to court—The manner of his admittance—The king's great lenity to his subjects.

THE day of our departure being come, I took leave of his highness, the governor of Glubbubdrib, and returned with my two companions to Maldonada, where, after a fortnight's waiting, a ship was ready to sail for Luggnagg. The two gentlemen, and some others, were so generous and kind as to furnish me with provisions, and see me on board. I was a month in this voyage. We had one violent storm, and were under a necessity of steering westward to get into the tradewind, which holds for about sixty leagues. On the 21st of April, 1708, we sailed into the river of Clumegnig, which is a seaport town, and made a signal for a pilot. Two of them came on board in less than half an hour, by whom we were guided between certain shoals and rocks, which are very dangerous in the passage, to a large bason, where a fleet may ride in safety within a cable's length of the town-wall.

Some of our sailors, whether out of treachery or inadvertence, had informed the pilots "that I was a stranger, and a great traveller;" whereof these gave notice to a custom-house officer, by whom I was examined very strictly upon my landing. This officer spoke to me in the language of Balni-barbi, which, by the force of much commerce, is generally understood in that town, especially by seamen and those

employed in the customs. I gave him a short account of some particulars, and made my story as plausible and consistent as I could; but I thought it necessary to disguise my country, and call myself a Hollander: because my intentions were for Japan, and I knew the Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to enter into that kingdom. I therefore told the officer, "that having been shipwrecked on the coast of Balnibarbi, and cast on a rock, I was received up into Lupta, or the flying island (of which he had often heard), and was now endeavouring to get to Japan, whence I might find a convenience of returning to my own country." The officer said, "I must be confined till he could receive orders from court, for which he would write immediately, and hoped to receive an answer in a fortnight. I was carried to a convenient lodging, with a sentry placed at the door; however, I had the liberty of a large garden, and was treated with humanity enough, being maintained all the time at the king's charge. I was visited by several persons, chiefly out of curiosity, because it was reported that I came from countries very remote, of which they had never heard.

I hired a young man, who came in the same ship, to be an interpreter; he was a native of Luggnagg, but had lived some years at Maldonada, and was a perfect master of both languages. By his assistance, I was able to hold a conversation with those who came to visit me; but this consisted only of their questions, and my answers.

The dispatch came from court about the time we expected. It contained a warrant for conducting me and my retinue to *Traldragdabh*, or *Trildrogdrib* (for it is pronounced both ways as near as I can remember), by a party of ten horse. All my retinue was that poor lad for an interpreter, whom I persuaded into my service, and, at my humble request, we had each of us a mule to ride on. A messenger was dispatched half a day's journey before us, to give the king notice of my

approach; and to desire, "that his majesty would please to appoint a day and hour, when it would be his gracious pleasure that I might have the honour to lick the dust before his footstool." This is the court style, and I found it to be more than matter of form; for upon my admittance two days after my arrival, I was commanded to crawl upon my belly and lick the floor as I advanced; but on account of my being a stranger, care was taken to have it made so clean, that the dust was not offensive. However, this was a peculiar grace, not allowed to any but persons of the highest rank, when they desire an admittance. Nay, sometimes the floor is strewed with dust on purpose, when the person to be admitted happens to have powerful enemies at court; and I have seen a great lord with his mouth so crammed, that when he had crept to the proper distance from the throne, he was not able to speak a word. Neither is there any remedy, because it is capital for those, who receive an audience, to spit or wipe their mouths in his majesty's presence. There is indeed another custom, which I cannot altogether approve of: when the king has a mind to put any of his nobles to death in a gentle indulgent manner, he commands the floor to be strewed with a certain brown powder of a deadly composition, which being licked up, infallibly kills him in twenty-four hours. But in justice to this prince's great clemency, and the care he has of his subjects' lives (wherein it were much to be wished that the monarchs of Europe would imitate him), it must be mentioned for his honour, that strict orders are given to have the infected parts of the floor well washed after every such execution, which, if his domestics neglect, they are in danger of incurring his royal displeasure. I myself heard him give directions, that one of his pages should be whipped, whose turn it was to give notice about washing the floor after an execution, but maliciously had omitted it: by which neglect, a young lord of great hopes, coming to an

audience, was unfortunately poisoned, although the king at that time had no design against his life. But this good prince was so gracious as to forgive the poor page his whipping, upon promise that he would do so no more, without special orders.

To return from this digression, when I had crept within four yards of the throne, I raised myself gently upon my knees, and then striking my forehead seven times against the ground, I pronounced the following words, as they had been taught me the night before, *Inckpling gloffthrobb squnt serumm blhiop mlashnalt zwin tnodbalkuff hslhiophad gurd lubh asht*. This is the compliment, established by the laws of the land, for all persons admitted to the king's presence. It may be rendered into English thus: "May your celestial majesty outlive the sun, eleven moons and a half!" To this the king returned some answer, which, although I could not understand, yet I replied as I had been directed: *Flute drin yalerick dwndom prastrad mirpush*, which properly signifies, "My tongue is in the mouth of my friend?" and by this expression was meant that I desired leave to bring my interpreter: whereupon the young man, already mentioned, was accordingly introduced; by whose intervention I answered as many questions as his majesty could put in above an hour. I spoke in the Balnibarbian tongue, and my interpreter delivered my meaning in that of Luggnagg. The king was much delighted with my company, and ordered his *bliffmarklub*, or high chamberlain, to appoint a lodging in the court for me and my interpreter; with a daily allowance for my table, and a large piece of gold for my common expenses.

I stayed three months in this country, out of perfect obedience to his majesty; who was pleased highly to favour me, and made me very honourable offers. But I thought it more consistent with prudence and justice to pass the remainder of my days with my wife and family.

CHAPTER X.

The Luggnaggians commended—A particular description of the Struldburgs, with many conversations between the Author and some eminent persons upon that subject.

THE Luggnaggians are a polite and generous people ; and although they are not without some share of that pride which is peculiar to all Eastern countries, yet they show themselves courteous to strangers, especially such as are countenanced by the court. I had many acquaintances, and among persons of the best fashion ; and being always attended by my interpreter, the conversation we had was not disagreeable.

One day, in much good company, I was asked by a person of quality, “whether I had seen any of their *struldburgs*, or immortals ?” I said, “I had not ;” and desired he would explain to me what he meant by such an appellation, applied to a mortal creature. He told me, that sometimes, though very rarely, a child happened to be born in a family, with a red circular spot in the forehead, directly over the left eye-brow, which was an infallible mark that it should never die. The spot,” as he described it, “was about the compass of a silver threepence, but in the course of time grew larger, and changed its colour ; for at twelve years old it became green, so continued till five-and-twenty, then turned to a deep blue ; at five-and-forty it grew coal black, and as large as an English shilling ; but never admitted any farther alteration.” He said, “these births were so rare, that he did not believe there could be above eleven hundred *struldburgs*, of both sexes, in the whole king

dom; of which he computed about fifty in the metropolis, and among the rest, a young girl born about three years ago: that these productions were not peculiar to any family, but a mere effect of chance; and the children of the *struldbrugs* themselves were equally mortal with the rest of the people."

I freely own myself to have been struck with inexpressible delight upon hearing this account: and the person who gave it me happening to understand the Balnibarbian language, which I spoke very well, I could not forbear breaking out into expressions, perhaps a little too extravagant. I cried out, as in a rapture, "Happy nation, where every child has at least a chance of being immortal! Happy people, who enjoy so many living examples of ancient virtue, and have masters ready to instruct them in the wisdom of all former ages! but happiest, beyond all comparison, are those excellent *struldbrugs*, who, being born exempt from that universal calamity of human nature, have their minds free and disengaged, without the weight and depression of spirits caused by the continual apprehensions of death. I discovered my admiration, "that I had not observed any of these illustrious persons at court; the black spot on the forehead being so remarkable a distinction, that I could not have easily overlooked it: and it was impossible that his majesty, a most judicious prince, should not provide himself with a good number of such wise and able counsellors. Yet perhaps the virtue of those reverend sages was too strict for the corrupt and libertine manners of a court: and we often find, by experience, that young men are too opinionated and volatile, to be guided by the sober dictates of their seniors. However, since the king was pleased to allow me access to his royal person, I was resolved, upon the very first occasion, to deliver my opinion to him on this matter freely and at large, by the help of my interpreter; and whether he would please to take my advice or not, yet in one thing I was determined that his majesty

having frequently offered me an establishment in this country, I would, with great thankfulness, accept the favour, and pass my life here in the conversation of those superior beings the *struldbrugs*, if they would please to admit me."

The gentleman to whom I addressed my discourse, because (as I have already observed) he spoke the language of Balnibarbi, said to me, with a sort of a smile which usually arises from them to the ignorant, "that he was glad to be of any occasion to keep me among them, and desired my permission to explain to the company what I had said." He did so, and they talked together for a long time in their own language, whereof I understood not a syllable, neither could I observe by their countenances, what impression my discourse had made on them. After a short silence, the same person told me, "that his friends and mine (so he thought fit to express himself) were very much pleased with the judicious remarks I had made on the great happiness and advantages of immortal life, and they were desirous to know, in a particular manner, what scheme of living I should have formed to myself, if it had fallen to my lot to have been born a *struldbrug*."

I answered, "it was easy to be eloquent on so copious and delightful a subject, especially to me, who had been often apt to amuse myself with visions of what I should do, if I were a king, a general, or a great lord: and upon this very case I had frequently run over the whole system how I should employ myself, and pass the time, if I were sure to live for ever.

"If it had been my fortune to come into the world a *struldbrug*, as soon as I could discover my own happiness, by understanding the difference between life and death, I would first resolve, by all arts and methods whatsoever, to procure myself riches: in pursuit of which by thrift and management, I might reasonably expect in about two hundred years, to be the wealthiest man in the kingdom. In the second place, I would, from my earliest youth, apply myself to the study of arts

and sciences, by which I should arrive in time to excel all others in learning. Lastly, I would carefully record every action and event of consequence, that happened in the public, impartially draw the characters of the several successions of princes and great ministers of state, with my own observations on every point. I would exactly set down the several changes in custom, language, fashions of dress, diet, and diversions, by all which acquirements, I should be a great treasure of knowledge and wisdom, and certainly become the oracle of the nation.

“I would never marry after threescore, but live in an hospitable manner, yet still on the saving scale. I would entertain myself in forming and directing the minds of hopeful young men, by convincing them, from my own remembrance, experience, and observation, fortified by numerous examples, of the usefulness of virtue in public and private life. But my choice and constant companions should be a set of my own immortal brotherhood; among whom, I would elect a dozen from the most ancient, down to my own contemporaries. Where any of these wanted fortunes, I would provide them with convenient lodges round my own estate, and have some of them always at my table; only mingling a few of the most valuable among you mortals, whom length of time would harden me to lose with little or no reluctance, and treat your posterity after the same manner; just as a man diverts himself with the annual succession of pinks and tulips in his garden, without regretting the loss of those which withered the preceding year.

“These *struldbrugs* and I would mutually communicate our observations and memorials, through the course of time; remark the several gradations by which corruption steals into the world, and oppose it in every step, by giving perpetual warning and instruction to mankind: which, added to the strong influence of our own example, would probably prevent

that continual degeneracy of human nature, so justly complained of in all ages.

“Add to this, the pleasure of seeing the various revolutions of states and empires; the changes in the lower and upper world; ancient cities in ruins, and obscure villages become the seats of kings; famous rivers lessening into shallow brooks; the ocean leaving one coast dry, and overwhelming another; the discovery of many countries yet unknown; barbarity overrunning the politest nations, and the most barbarous become civilized. I should then see the discovery of the longitude, the perpetual motion, the universal medicine, and many other great inventions, brought to the utmost perfection.

“What wonderful discoveries should we make in astronomy, by outliving and confirming our own predictions; by observing the progress and returns of comets, with the changes of motion in the sun, moon, and stars!”

I enlarged upon many other topics, which the natural desire of endless life, and sublunary happiness, could easily furnish me with. When I had ended, and the sum of my discourse had been interpreted, as before, to the rest of the company, there was a good deal of talk among them in the language of the country, not without some laughter at my expense. At last, the same gentleman who had been my interpreter, said, “He was desired by the rest to set me right in a few mistakes, which I had fallen into through the common imbecility of human nature, and upon that allowance was less answerable for them. That this breed of *struldbrugs* was peculiar to their country, for there were no such people either in Balibarbi or Japan where he had the honour to be ambassador from his majesty, and found the natives in both these kingdoms very hard to believe that the fact was possible: and it appeared from my astonishment when he first mentioned the matter to me, that I received it as a thing

wholly new, and scarcely to be credited. That in the two kingdoms above-mentioned, where during his residence he had conversed very much, he observed long life to be the universal desire and wish of mankind. That whoever had one foot in the grave was sure to hold back the other as strongly as he could. That the oldest had still hopes of living one day longer, and looked on death as the greatest evil, from which nature always prompted him to retreat. Only in this island of Luggnagg the appetite for living was not so eager, from the continual example of the *struldbrugs* before their eyes.

“That the system of living contrived by me, was unreasonable and unjust; because it supposed a perpetuity of youth, health, and vigour, which no man could be so foolish to hope, however extravagant he may be in his wishes.* — That the question therefore was not, whether a man would choose to be always in the prime of youth, attended with prosperity and health; but how he would pass a perpetual life, under all the usual disadvantages which old age brings along with it; for although few men will avow their desires of being immortal, upon such hard conditions, yet in the two kingdoms before mentioned, of Balnibarbi and Japan, he observed that every man desired to put off death some time longer, let it approach ever so late: and he rarely heard of any man who died willingly, except he were incited by the extremity of grief or torture. And he appealed to me, whether in those countries I had travelled, as well as my own, I had not observed the same general disposition.”†

* To this it may possibly be objected, that the perpetuity of youth, health, and vigour, would be less a prodigy than the perpetuity of life in a body subject to gradual decay, and might therefore be hoped without greater extravagance of folly; but the sentiment here expressed is that of a being to whom immortality, though not perpetual youth, was familiar, and in whom the wish of a perpetual youth only would have been extravagant, because that only appeared from facts to be impossible — H.

† If it be said, that although the folly of desiring life to be prolonged under the

After this preface, he gave me a particular account of the *struldbrugs* among them. He said, "they commonly acted like mortals till about thirty years old; after which, by degrees, they grew melancholy and dejected, increasing in both till they came to fourscore. This he learned from their own confession: for otherwise, there not being above two or three of that species born in an age, they were too few to form a general observation by. When they came to fourscore years, which is reckoned the extremity of living in this country, they had not only all the follies and infirmities of other old men, but many more which arose from the dreadful prospect of never dying. They were not only opinionative, peevish, covetous, morose, vain, talkative; but incapable of friendship, and dead to all natural affection, which never descended below their grandchildren. Envy, and impotent desires, are their prevailing passions. But those objects against which their envy seems principally directed, are the vices of the younger sort, and the deaths of the old. By reflecting on the former, they find themselves cut off from all possibility of pleasure; and whenever they see a funeral, they lament and repine that others are gone to a harbour of rest, to which they themselves never can hope to arrive. They have no remembrance of anything, but what they learned and observed in their youth and middle age, and even that is very imperfect; and for the truth or particulars of any fact, it is safer to depend on common tradition, than upon their best recollections. The least miserable among them, appear

disadvantages of old age, is here finely exposed; yet the desire of terrestrial immortality, upon terms on which alone in the nature of things it is possible, an exemption from disease, accident, and decay, is tacitly allowed: it may be answered, that as we grow old by imperceptible degrees, so for the most part we grow old without repining; and every man is ready to profess himself willing to die, when he shall be overtaken by the decrepitude of age in some future period: yet when every other eye sees that this period is arrived, he is still tenacious of life, and murmurs at the condition upon which he received his existence. To reconcile old age therefore to the thoughts of a dissolution, appears to be all that was necessary in a moral writer for practical purposes.—H.

to be those who turn to dotage, and entirely lose their memories; these meet with more pity and assistance, because they want many bad qualities which abound in others.

“If a *struldbrug* happen to marry one of his own kind, the marriage is dissolved of course, by the courtesy of the kingdom, as soon as the younger of the two comes to be fourscore; for the law thinks it a reasonable indulgence, that those who are condemned, without any fault of their own, to a perpetual continuance in the world, should not have their misery doubled by the load of a wife.

“As soon as they have completed the term of eighty years, they are looked on as dead in law; their heirs immediately succeed to their support; and the poor ones, are maintained at the public charge. After that period, they are held incapable of any employment of trust or profit; they cannot purchase lands, or take leases; neither are they allowed to be witnesses in any cause, either civil or criminal, not even for the decision of meers and bounds.

“At ninety, they lose their teeth and hair; they have at that age no distinction of taste, but eat and drink whatever they can get, without relish or appetite. The diseases they were subject to still continue, without increasing or diminishing. In talking, they forget the common appellation of things, and the names of persons, even of those who are their nearest friends and relations. For the same reason, they never can amuse themselves with reading, because their memory will not serve to carry them from the beginning of a sentence to the end; and by this defect, that are deprived of the only entertainment, whereof they might otherwise be capable.

“The language of this country being always upon the flux, the *struldbrugs* of one age do not understand those of another; neither are they able, after two hundred years, to hold any conversation (farther than by a few general words) with their

neighbours the mortals ; and thus they lie under the disadvantage of living like foreigners in their own country."

This was the account given me of the *struldbrugs*, as near as I can remember. I afterwards saw five or six of different ages, the youngest not above two hundred years old, who were brought to me at several times by some of my friends ; but although they were told, "that I was a great traveller, and had seen all the world," they had not the least curiosity to ask me a question ; only desired "I would give them *slums-kudask*, or a token of remembrance ;" which is a modest way of begging, to avoid the law, that strictly forbids it, because they are provided for by the public, although indeed with a very scanty allowance.

They are despised and hated by all sorts of people. When one of them is born, it is reckoned ominous, and their birth is recorded very particularly : so that you may know their age by consulting the register, which, however, has not been kept above a thousand years past, or at least has been destroyed by time or public disturbances. But the usual way of computing how old they are, is by asking them what kings or great persons they can remember, and then consulting history ; for infallibly the last prince in their mind did not begin his reign after they were fourscore years old.

They were the most mortifying sight I ever beheld ; and the women were more horrible than the men. Besides the usual deformities in extreme old age, they acquired an additional ghastliness, in proportion to their number of years, which is not to be described ; and among half a dozen, I soon distinguished which was the eldest, although there was not above a century or two between them.

The reader will easily believe, that from what I had heard and seen, my keen appetite for perpetuity of life was much abated. I grew heartily ashamed of the pleasing visions I had formed ; and thought no tyrant could invent a death, into

which I would not run with pleasure, from such a life. The king heard of all that had passed between me and my friends upon this occasion, and rallied me very pleasantly; wishing I could send a couple of *struldbrugs* to my own country, to arm our people against the fear of death;* but this, it seems, is forbidden by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, or else I should have been well content with the trouble and expense of transporting them.

I could not but agree, that the laws of this kingdom relative to the *struldbrugs* were founded upon the strongest reasons, and such as any other country would be under the necessity of enacting, in the like circumstances. Otherwise, as avarice is the necessary consequent of old age, those immortals would in time become proprietors of the whole nation, and engross the civil power, which, for want of abilities to manage, must end in the ruin of the public.

* Perhaps it may not be wholly useless to remark, that the sight of a *struldbrug* would no otherwise arm those against the fear of death, who have no hope beyond it, than a man is armed against the fear of breaking his limbs, who jumps out of a window when his house is on fire.—H.

CHAPTER. XI.

The Author leaves Luggnagg, and sails to Japan—From thence he returns in a Dutch ship to Amsterdam, and from Amsterdam to England.

I THOUGHT this account of the *struldbrugs* might be some entertainment to the reader, because it seems to be a little out of the common way ; at least I do not remember to have met the like in any book of travels that has come to my hands : and if I am deceived, my excuse must be, that it is necessary for travellers who describe the same country, very often to agree in dwelling on the same particulars, without deserving the censure of having borrowed or transcribed from those who wrote before them.

There is indeed a perpetual commerce between this kingdom and the great empire of Japan ; and it is very probable, that the Japanese authors may have given some account of the *struldbrugs* ; but my stay in Japan was so short, and I was so entirely a stranger to the language, that I was not qualified to make any inquiries. But I hope the Dutch, upon this notice, will be curious and able enough to supply my defects.

His majesty having often pressed me to accept some employment in his court, and finding me absolutely determined to return to my native country, was pleased to give me his license to depart ; and honoured me with a letter of recommendation, under his own hand, to the emperor of Japan. He likewise presented me with four hundred and forty-four large pieces of gold (this nation delighting in even numbers),

and a red diamond, which I sold in England for eleven hundred pounds.

On the 26th of May, 1709, I took a solemn leave of his majesty, and all my friends. This prince was so gracious as to order a guard to conduct me to Glanguenstald, which is a royal port to the south-west part of the island. In six days I found a vessel ready to carry me to Japan, and spent fifteen days in the voyage. We landed at a small port-town called Xamoschi, situated on the south-east part of Japan; the town lies on the western point, where there is a narrow strait leading northward into a long arm of the sea, upon the north-west part of which, Yedo the metropolis stands. At landing I shewed the custom-house officers my letter from the king of Luggnagg to his imperial majesty. They knew the seal perfectly well; it was as broad as the palm of my hand. The impression was, 'A king lifting up a lame beggar from the earth.' The magistrates of the town, hearing of my letter, received me as a public minister; they provided me with carriages and servants, and bore my charges to Yedo, where I was admitted to an audience, and delivered my letter, which was opened with great ceremony, and explained to the emperor by an interpreter; who then gave me notice, by his majesty's order, "that I should signify my request, and, whatever it were, it should be granted, for the sake of his royal brother of Luggnagg." This interpreter was a person employed to transact affairs with the Hollanders: he soon conjectured, by my countenance, that I was a European, and therefore repeated his majesty's commands in Low Dutch, which he spoke perfectly well. I answered, as I had before determined, "that I was a Dutch merchant, shipwrecked in a very remote country, whence I had travelled by sea and land to Luggnagg, and then took shipping for Japan, where I knew my countrymen often traded, and with some of these I hoped to get an opportunity of returning into Europe: I therefore most

humbly entreated his royal favour, to give order that I should be conducted in safety to Nangasac." To this I added another petition, "that for the sake of my patron the king of Luggnagg, his majesty would condescend to excuse my performing the ceremony imposed on my countrymen, of trampling upon the crucifix; because I had been thrown into this kingdom by my misfortunes, without any intention of trading." When this latter petition was interpreted to the emperor, he seemed a little surprised; and said, "he believed I was the first of my countrymen who even made any scruple in this point; and that he began to doubt, whether I was a real Hollander, or not; but rather suspected I must be a Christian. However, for the reasons I had offered, but chiefly to gratify the king of Luggnagg by an uncommon mark of his favour, he would comply with the singularity of my humour; but the affair must be managed with dexterity, and his officers should be commanded to let me pass, as it were by forgetfulness; for he assured me, that if the secret should be discovered by my countrymen the Dutch, they would cut my throat in the voyage." I returned my thanks, by the interpreter, for so unusual a favour; and some troops being at that time on the march to Nangasac, the commanding officer had orders to convey me safe thither, with particular instruction about the business of the crucifix.

On the 9th of June, 1709, I arrived at Nangasac, after a very long and troublesome journey. I soon fell into the company of some Dutch sailors belonging to the *Amboyna* of Amsterdam, a stout ship of 450 tons. I had lived long in Holland, pursuing my studies at Leyden, and I spoke Dutch well. The seamen soon knew whence I came last: they were curious to inquire into my voyages and course of life. I made up a story as short and probable as I could, but concealed the greatest part. I knew many persons in Holland; I was able to invent names for my parents, whom I pretended to be

obscure people in the province of Guelderland. I would have given the captain (one Theodorus Vangrult) what he pleased to ask for my voyage to Holland, but understanding I was a surgeon, he was contented to take half the usual rate, on condition that I would serve him in the way of my calling. Before we took shipping, I was often asked by some of the crew "whether I had performed the ceremony above mentioned?" I evaded the question by general answers; "that I had satisfied the emperor and court in all particulars." However, a malicious rogue of a skipper went to an officer, and pointing to me, told him, "I had not yet trampled on that crucifix;" but the other, who had received instructions to let me pass, gave the rascal twenty strokes on the shoulders with a bamboo; after which I was no more troubled with such questions.

Nothing happened worth mentioning in this voyage. We sailed with a fair wind to the Cape of Good Hope, where we staid only to take in fresh water. On the 10th of April, 1710, we arrived safe at Amsterdam, having lost only three men by sickness in the voyage, and a fourth, who fell from the foremast into the sea, not far from the coast of Guinea. From Amsterdam I soon after set sail for England, in a small vessel belonging to that city.

On the 16th of April we put in at the Downs. I landed next morning, and saw once more my native country, after an absence of five years and six months complete. I went straight to Redriff, where I arrived the same day, at two in the afternoon, and found my wife and family in good health.

PART IV.

A VOYAGE TO THE COUNTRY OF THE HOUYHNNHMS.

A VOYAGE

COUNTRY OF THE BIGHORN
PART I

A VOYAGE TO THE

COUNTRY OF THE BIGHORN

A VOYAGE
TO THE
COUNTRY OF THE HOUYHNHNMS.

CHAPTER I.

The Author sets out as captain of a ship—His men conspire against him, and confine him a long time to his cabin, and set him on shore in an unknown land—He travels up into the country—The Yahoos, a strange sort of animal, described—The Author meets two Houyhnhnms.

I CONTINUED at home with my wife and children about five months, in a very happy condition, if I could have learned the lesson of knowing when I was well. I left my poor wife big with child, and accepted an advantageous offer made me to be captain of the *Adventure*, a stout merchantman of 350 tons; for I understood navigation well, and being grown weary of a surgeon's employment at sea, which however, I could exercise upon occasion, I took a skilful young man of that calling, one Robert Purefoy, into my ship. We set sail from Portsmouth, upon the seventh day of September, 1710; on the 14th, we met with Captain Pocock, of Bristol, at Teneriffe, who was going to the bay of Campechy to cut logwood. On the 16th, he was parted from us by a storm; I heard since my return,

that his ship foundered, and none escaped but one cabin boy. He was an honest man, and a good sailor, but a little too positive in his own opinions, which was the cause of his destruction, as it has been of several others; for if he had followed my advice, he might have been safe at home with his family at this time as well as myself.

I had several men died in my ship of calentures, so that I was forced to get recruits out of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, where I touched by the direction of the merchants who employed me; which I had soon too much cause to repent; for I found afterward, that most of them had been buccaneers.* I had fifty hands on board; and my orders were, that I should trade with the Indians in the South Sea, and make what discoveries I could. These rogues, whom I had picked up debauched my other men, and they all formed a conspiracy to seize the ship, and secure me; which they did one morning, rushing into my cabin, and binding me hand and foot, threatening to throw me overboard, if I offered to stir. I told them, "I was their prisoner and would submit." This they made me swear to do, and then they unbound me, only fastening one of my legs with a chain, near my bed, and placed a sentry at my door with his piece charged, who was commanded to shoot me dead, if I attempted my liberty. They sent me down victuals and drink, and took the government of the ship to themselves. Their design was to turn pirates, and plunder the Spaniards, which they could not do till they got more men. But first they resolved to sell the goods in the ship, and then go to Madagascar for recruits, several among them having died since my confinement. They sailed many weeks, and traded with the Indians; but I knew not what course they took, being kept a close prisoner in my cabin, and expecting nothing less than to be murdered, as they often threatened me.

* Certain pirates, that infested the West Indies, were so called—H.

Upon the 9th day of May, 1711, one James Welch came down to my cabin, and said, "he had orders from the captain to set me ashore." I expostulated with him, but in vain; neither would he so much as tell me who their new captain was. They forced me into the long-boat, letting me put on my best suit of clothes, which were as good as new, and take a small bundle of linen, but no arms, except my hanger; and they were so civil as not to search my pockets, into which I conveyed what money I had, with some other little necessities. They rowed about a league, and then set me down on a strand. I desired them to tell me what country it was. They all swore, "they knew no more than myself;" but said, "that the captain (as they called him) was resolved, after they had sold the lading, to get rid of me in the first place where they could discover land." They pushed off immediately, advising me to make haste for fear of being overtaken by the tide, and so bade me farewell.

In this desolate condition I advanced forward, and soon got upon firm ground, where I sat down on a bank to rest myself, and consider what I had best do. When I was a little refreshed, I went up into the country, resolving to deliver myself to the first savages I should meet, and purchase my life from them by some bracelets, glass rings, and other toys which sailors usually provide themselves with in those voyages, and whereof I had some about me. The land was divided by long rows of trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was great plenty of grass, and several fields of oats. I walked very circumspectly, for fear of being surprised, or suddenly shot with an arrow from behind, or on either side. I fell into a beaten road, where I saw many tracks of human feet, and some of cows, but most of horses. At last I beheld several animals in a field, and one or two of the same kind sitting on trees. Their shape was very singular and deformed, which a little discomposed me, so that I lay

down behind a thicket to observe them better. Some of them coming forward near the place where I lay, gave me an opportunity of distinctly marking their form. Their heads and breasts were covered with a thick hair, some frizzled, and others lank; they had beards like goats, and a long ridge of hair down their backs, and the fore parts of their legs and feet; but the rest of their bodies was bare, so that I might see their skins, which were of a brown buff colour. They had no tails, or any hair on their buttocks, except about the *anus*; which, I presume, nature had placed there to defend them, as they sat on the ground; for this posture they used, as well as lying down, and often stood on their hind feet. They climbed high trees as nimbly as a squirrel, for they had strong extended claws before and behind, terminating in sharp points, and hooked. They would often spring, and bound and leap with prodigious agility. The females were not so large as the males; they had long lank hair on their head, but none on their faces, nor any thing more than a sort of down on the rest of their bodies, except about the *anus* and *pudenda*. The dugs hung between their fore-feet, and often reached almost to the ground as they walked. The hair of both sexes was of several colours, brown, red, black, and yellow. Upon the whole, I never beheld, in all my travels, so disagreeable an animal, or one against which I naturally conceived so strong an antipathy; so that thinking I had seen enough, full of contempt and aversion, I got up, and pursued the beaten road, hoping it might direct me to the cabin of some Indian. I had not gone far, when I met one of these creatures full in my way, and coming up directly to me. The ugly monster, when he saw me, distorted several ways every feature of his visage, and stared, as at an object he had never seen before; then approaching nearer, lifted up his fore-paw, whether out of curiosity or mischief I could not tell; but I drew my hanger, and gave him a good blow with the flat side of it, for I durst

not strike with the edge, fearing the inhabitants might be provoked against me, if they should come to know that I had killed or maimed any of their cattle. When the beast felt the smart, he drew back, and roared so loud, that a herd of at least forty came flocking about me from the next field, howling and making odious faces; but I ran to the body of a tree, and leaning my back against it, kept them off by waving my hanger. Several of this cursed brood, getting hold of the branches behind, leaped up into the tree, whence they began to discharge their excrements on my head: however, I escaped pretty well by sticking close to the stem of the tree, but was almost stifled with the filth which fell about me on every side.

In the midst of this distress, I observed them all to run away on a sudden as fast as they could; at which I ventured to leave the tree, and pursue the road, wondering what it was that could put them into this fright. But looking on my left hand, I saw a horse walking softly in the field; which my persecutors having sooner discovered, was the cause of their flight. The horse started a little, when he came near me, but soon recovering himself, looked full in my face with manifest tokens of wonder. He viewed my hands and feet, walking round me several times. I would have pursued my journey, but he placed himself directly in the way, yet looking with a very mild aspect, never offering the least violence. We stood gazing at each other for some time; at last I took the boldness to reach my hand towards his neck with a design to stroke it, using the common style and whistle of jockeys, when they are going to handle a strange horse. But this animal seemed to receive my civilities with disdain, shook his head, and bent his brows, softly raising up his right fore-foot to remove my hand. Then he neighed three or four times, but in so different a cadence, that I almost began to think he was speaking to himself, in some language of his own.

While he and I were thus employed, another horse came up ; who applying himself first in a very formal manner, they gently struck each other's right hoof before, neighing several times by turns, and varying the sound, which seemed to be almost articulate. They went some paces off, as if it were to confer together, walking side by side, backward and forward, like persons deliberating upon some affair of weight, but often turning their eyes towards me, as it were to watch that I might not escape. I was amazed to see such actions and behaviour in brute beasts : and concluded with myself, that if the inhabitants of this country were endued with a proportionable degree of reason, they must needs be the wisest people upon earth. This thought gave me so much comfort, that I resolved to go forward, until I could discover some house or village, or meet with any of the natives, leaving the two horses to discourse together as they pleased. But the first, who was a dapple gray, observing me to steal off, neighed after me in so expressive a tone, that I fancied myself to understand what he meant ; whereupon I turned back, and came near to him to expect his farther commands ; but concealing my fear as much as I could ; for I began to be in some pain how this adventure might terminate ; and the reader would easily believe I did not much like my present situation.

The two horses came up close to me, looking with great earnestness upon my face and hands. The gray steed rubbed my hat all round with his right fore-hoof, and discomposed it so much, that I was forced to adjust it better by taking it off, and settling it on again ; whereat, both he and his companion (who was a brown bay) appeared to be much surprised ; the latter felt the lappet of my coat, and finding it to hang loose about me, they both looked with new signs of wonder. He stroked my right hand, seeming to admire the softness and colour ; but he squeezed it so hard between his hoof and his

pastern, that I was forced to roar; after which they both touched me with all possible tenderness. They were under great perplexity about my shoes and stockings, which they felt very often, neighing to each other, and using various gestures, not unlike those of a philosopher, when he would attempt to solve some new and difficult phenomenon.

Upon the whole, the behaviour of these animals was so orderly and rational, so acute and judicious, that I at last concluded they must needs be magicians, who had thus metamorphosed themselves upon some design, and seeing a stranger in the way, resolved to divert themselves with him; or, perhaps were really amazed at the sight of a man so very different in habit, feature, and complexion, from those who might probably live in so remote a climate. Upon the strength of this reasoning, I ventured to address them in the following manner: "Gentlemen, if you be conjurors, as I have good cause to believe, you can understand any language; therefore I make bold to let your worships know that I am a poor distressed Englishman, driven by his misfortunes upon your coast: and I entreat one of you to let me ride upon his back, as if he were a real horse, to some house or village where I can be relieved. In return of which favour, I will make you a present of this knife and bracelet;" taking them out of my pocket. The two creatures stood silent while I spoke, seeming to listen with great attention; and when I had ended, they neighed frequently towards each other, as if they were engaged in serious conversation. I plainly observed that their language expressed the passions very well, and the words might, with little pains, be resolved into an alphabet more easily than the Chinese.

I could frequently distinguish the word *Yahoo*, which was repeated by each of them several times: and although it was impossible for me to conjecture what it meant, yet while the two horses were busy in conversation, I endeavoured to

practise this word upon my tongue; and as soon as they were silent, I boldly pronounced *Yahoo* in a loud voice, imitating at the same time, as near as I could, the neighing of a horse; at which they were both visibly surprised; and the gray repeated the same word twice, as if he meant to teach the right accent; wherein I spoke after him as well as I could, and found myself perceivably to improve every time, though very far from any degree of perfection. Then the bay tried me with a second word, much harder to be pronounced; but reducing it to the English orthography, may be spelt thus, *Houyhnhnm*. I did not succeed in this so well as in the former; but after two or three farther trials, I had better fortune; and they both appeared amazed at my capacity.

After some further discourse, which I then conjectured might relate to me, the two friends took their leaves, with the same compliment of striking each other's hoof; and the gray made me signs that I should walk before him; wherein I thought it prudent to comply, till I could find a better director. When I offered to slacken my pace, he would cry *hhuun, hhuun*: I guessed his meaning, and gave him to understand, as well as I could, "that I was weary, and not able to walk faster;" upon which he would stand awhile to let me rest.

CHAPTER II.

The Author conducted by a Houyhnhnm to his house—The house described—The Author's reception—The food of Houyhnhnms—The Author in distress for want of meat—Is at last relieved—His manner of feeding in this country.

HAVING travelled about three miles, we came to a long kind of building, made of timber stuck in the ground, and wattled across; the roof was low, and covered with straw. I now began to be a little comforted; and took out some toys, which travellers usually carry for presents to the savage Indians of America, and other parts, in hopes the people of the house would be thereby encouraged to receive me kindly. The horse made me a sign to go in first; it was a large room, with a smooth clay floor, and a rack and manger, extending the whole length on one side. There were three nags and two mares, not eating, but some of them sitting down upon their hams, which I very much wondered at; but wondered more to see the rest employed in domestic business; these seemed but ordinary cattle; however, this confirmed my first opinion, that a people who could so far civilize brute animals, must needs excel in wisdom all the nations of the world. The gray came in just after, and thereby prevented any ill treatment which the others might have given me. He neighed to them several times in a style of authority, and received answers.

Beyond this room there were three others, reaching the length of the house, to which you passed through three doors,

opposite to each other, in the manner of a vista; we went through the second room towards the third. Here the gray walked in first, beckoning me to attend: I waited in the second room, and got ready my presents for the master and mistress of the house: they were two knives, three bracelets of false pearls, a small looking-glass, and a bead necklace. The horse neighed three or four times, and I waited to hear some answers in a human voice, but I heard no other returns than in the same dialect, only one or two a little shriller than his. I began to think that this house must belong to some person of great note among them, because there appeared so much ceremony before I could gain admittance. But, that a man of quality should be served all by horses, was beyond my comprehension; I feared my brain was disturbed by my sufferings and misfortunes: I roused myself, and looked about me in the room where I was left alone: this was furnished like the first, only after a more elegant manner. I rubbed my eyes often, but the same objects still occurred. I pinched my arms and sides to awake myself, hoping I might be in a dream. I then absolutely concluded, that all these appearances could be nothing else but necromancy and magic. But I had no time to pursue these reflections; for the gray horse came to the door, and made me a sign to follow him into the third room, where I saw a very comely mare, together with a colt and foal, sitting on their haunches upon mats of straw, not unartfully made, and perfectly neat and clean.

The mare soon after my entrance rose from her mat, and coming up close, after having nicely observed my hands and face, gave me a most contemptuous look; and turning to the horse, I heard the word *Yahoo* often repeated betwixt them; the meaning of which word I could not then comprehend, although it was the first I had learned to pronounce; but I was soon better informed, to my everlasting mortification;

for the horse, beckoning to me with his head, and repeating the *hhuun*, *hhuun*, as he did upon the road, which I understood was to attend him, led me out into a kind of court, where was another building, at some distance from the house. Here we entered, and I saw three of those detestable creatures, which I first met after my landing, feeding upon roots, and the flesh of some animals, which I afterwards found to be that of asses and dogs, and now and then a cow, dead by accident or disease. They were all tied by the neck with strong withes fastened to a beam; they held their food between the claws of their fore feet, and tore it with their teeth.

The master horse ordered a sorrel nag, one of his servants, to untie the largest of these animals, and take him into the yard. The beast and I were brought close together, and by our countenances diligently compared both by master and servant, who thereupon repeated several times the word *Yahoo*. My horror and astonishment are not to be described, when I observed, in this abominable animal, a perfect human figure: the face of it indeed was flat and broad, the nose depressed, the lips large, and the mouth wide; but these differences are common to all savage nations, where the lineaments of the countenance are distorted, by the natives suffering their infants to lie grovelling on the earth, or by carrying them on their backs, nuzzling with their faces against the mother's shoulders. The fore feet of the *Yahoo* differed from my hands in nothing else but the length of the nails, the coarseness and brownness of the palms, and the hairiness on the backs. There was the same resemblance between our feet, with the same differences; which I knew very well, though the horses did not, because of my shoes and stockings; the same in every part of our bodies except as to hairiness and colour, which I have already described.

The great difficulty that seemed to stick with the two

horses, was to see the rest of my body so very different from that of a *Yahoo*, for which I was obliged to my clothes, whereof they had no conception. The sorrel nag offered me a root, which he held (after their manner, as we shall describe in its proper place) between his hoof and pastern: I took it in my hand, and, having smelt it, returned to him as civilly as I could. He brought out of the *Yahoo's* kennel a piece of ass's flesh, but it smelt so offensively, that I turned from it with a loathing: he then threw it to the *Yahoo*, by whom it was greedily devoured. He afterward showed me a wisp of hay, and a fetlock full of oats; but I shook my head, to signify that neither of these were food for me. And indeed I now apprehended that I must absolutely starve if I did not get to some of my own species; for as to those filthy *Yahoos*, although there were few greater lovers of mankind at that time than myself, yet I confess I never saw any sensitive being so detestable on all accounts; and the more I came near them the more hateful they grew, while I stayed in that country. This the master horse observed by my behaviour, and therefore sent the *Yahoo* back to his kennel. He then put his fore-hoof to his mouth, at which I was much surprised, although he did it with ease, and a motion that appeared perfectly natural; and made other signs to know what I would eat; but I could not return him such an answer as he was able to apprehend: and if he had understood me, I did not see how it was possible to contrive any way for finding myself nourishment. While we were thus engaged, I observed a cow passing by, whereupon I pointed to her, and expressed a desire to go and milk her. This had its effect; for he led me back into the house, and ordered a mare-servant to open a room, where a good store of milk lay in earthen and wooden vessels, after a very orderly and cleanly manner. She gave me a large bowl full, of which I drank very heartily, and found myself well refreshed

About noon I saw coming towards the house a kind of vehicle drawn like a sledge by four *Yahoos*. There was in it an old steed, who seemed to be of quality: he alighted with his hind feet forward, having by an accident got a hurt in his left fore-foot. He came to dine with our horse, who received him with great civility. They dined in the best room, and had oats boiled in milk for the second course, which the old horse eat warm, but the rest cold. Their managers were placed circular in the middle of the room, and divided into several partitions, round which they sat on their haunches, upon bosses of straw. In the middle was a large rack, with angles answering to every partition of the manger; so that each horse and mare eat their own hay, and their own mash of oats and milk, with much decency and regularity. The behaviour of the young colt and foal appeared very modest, and that of the master and mistress extremely cheerful and complaisant to their guest. The gray ordered me to stand by him; and much discourse passed between him and his friend concerning me, as I found by the stranger's often looking on me, and the frequent repetition of the word *Yahoo*.

I happened to wear my gloves, which the master gray observing, seemed perplexed, discovering signs of wonder what I had done to my forefeet: he put his hoof three or four times to them as if he would signify, that I should reduce them to their former shape, which I presently did, pulling off both my gloves, and putting them into my pocket.

This occasioned farther talk, and I saw the company was pleased with my behaviour, whereof I soon found the good effects. I was ordered to speak the few words I understood: and while they were at dinner, the master taught me the names for oats, milk, fire, water, and some others; which I could readily pronounce after him, having from my youth a great facility in learning languages.

When dinner was done, the master horse took me aside,

and by signs and words made me understand the concern he was in that I had nothing to eat. Oats in their tongue are called *hlunnh*. This word I pronounced two or three times; for although I had refused them at first, yet upon second thoughts, I considered that I could contrive to make of them, a kind of bread, which might be sufficient, with milk, to keep me alive, till I could make my escape to some other country, and to creatures of my own species. The horse immediately ordered a white mare-servant of his family to bring me a good quantity of oats in a sort of wooden tray. These I heated before the fire, as well as I could, and rubbed them till the husks came off, which I made a shift to winnow from the grain: I ground and beat them between two stones, and then took water, and made them into a paste or cake, which I toasted at the fire, and eat warm with milk. It was at first a very insipid diet, though common enough in many parts of Europe, but grew tolerable by time; and having been often reduced to hard fare in my life, this was not the first experiment I had made how easily nature is satisfied. And I cannot but observe, that I never had one hour's sickness while I stayed at this island. It is true, I sometimes made a shift to catch a rabbit, or bird, by springes made of *Yahoo's* hairs; and I often gathered wholesome herbs, which I boiled, and eat as salads with my bread; and now and then, for a rarity, I made a little butter, and drank the whey. I was at first at a great loss for salt, but custom soon reconciled me to the want of it; and I am confident that the frequent use of salt among us is an effect of luxury, and was first introduced only as a provocative to drink, except where it is necessary for preserving flesh in long voyages, or in places remote from great markets; for we observe no animal to be fond of it but man, and as to myself, when I left this country, it was a great while before I could endure the taste of it in any thing that I eat.

This is enough to say upon this subject of my diet, where-

with other travellers fill their books, as if the readers were personally concerned whether we fare well or ill. However, it was necessary to mention this matter, lest the world should think it impossible that I could find sustenance for three years in such a country, and among such inhabitants.

When it grew towards evening, the master horse ordered a place for me to lodge in; it was about six yards from the house, and separated from the stable of the *Yahoos*. Here I got some straw, and covering myself with my own clothes, slept very sound. But in a short time I was better accommodated, as the reader shall know hereafter, when I come to treat more particularly about my way of living.

CHAPTER III.

The Author studies to learn the language—The Houyhnhnm, his master, assists in teaching him—The language described—Several Houyhnhnms of quality come out of curiosity to see the Author—He gives his master a short account of his voyage.

My principal endeavour was to learn the language, which my master (for so I shall henceforth call him), and his children, and every servant of his house, were desirous to teach me : for they looked upon it as a prodigy, that a brute animal should discover such marks of a rational creature. I pointed to every thing, and inquired the name of it, which I wrote down in my journal-book when I was alone, and corrected my bad accent, by desiring those of the family to pronounce it often. In this employment a sorrel nag, one of the under-servants, was very ready to assist me.

In speaking, they pronounced through the nose and throat, and their language approaches nearest to the High-Dutch, or German, of any I know in Europe ; but it is much more graceful and significant. The Emperor Charles V. made almost the same observation, when he said, “that if he were to speak to his horse, it should be in High-Dutch.” The curiosity and impatience of my master were so great, that he spent many hours of his leisure to instruct me. He was convinced (as he afterward told me) that I must be a *Yahoo* ; but my teachableness, civility, and cleanliness, astonished him ; which were qualities altogether opposite to those animals.* He was most perplexed about my clothes, reasoning sometimes with

* “Qualities opposite to animals,” is a strange mode of expression ; it should be—“which were qualities altogether opposite to such as belonged to those animals.”—S.

himself, whether they were a part of my body ; for I never pulled them off till the family were asleep, and got them on before they waked in the morning. My master was eager to learn “whence I came ; how I acquired those appearances of reason, which I discovered in all my actions ; and to know my story from my own mouth, which he hoped he should soon do, by the great proficiency I made in learning and pronouncing their words and sentences.” To help my memory, I formed all I learned into the English alphabet, and writ the words down, with the translations. This last, after some time, I ventured to do in my master’s presence. It cost me much trouble to explain to him what I was doing ; for the inhabitants have not the least idea of books or literature.

In about ten weeks’ time, I was able to understand most of his questions ; and in three months could give some tolerable answers. He was extremely curious to know “from what part of the country I came, and how I was taught to imitate a rational creature ; because the *Yahoos* (whom he saw I exactly resembled in my head, hand, and face, that were only visible),* with some appearance of cunning, and the strongest disposition to mischief, were observed to be the most unteachable of all brutes. I answered, “that I came over the sea from a far place, with many others of my own kind, in a great hollow vessel made of the bodies of trees : that my companions forced me to land on this coast, and then left me to shift for myself.” It was with some difficulty, and by the help of many signs, that I brought him to understand me. He replied, “that I must needs be mistaken, or that I said the thing which was not ;” for they have no word in their language to express lying or falsehood. “He knew it was impossible that there could be a country beyond the sea, or that a parcel of brutes could move a wooden vessel whither

* “That were only visible” —an ambiguous phrase it should be, “which only were visible,” &c.—S.

they pleased upon water. He was sure no *Houyhnhnms* alive could make such a vessel, nor would trust *Yahoos* to manage it."

The word *Houyhnhnm*, in their tongue, signifies a *horse*, and, in its etymology, *the perfection of nature*. I told my master, that "I was at a loss for expression, but would improve as fast as I could; and hoped in a short time, I should be able to tell him wonders." He was pleased to direct his own mare, his colt, and foal, and the servants of the family, to take all opportunities of instructing me; and every day for two or three hours, he was at the same pains himself: several horses and mares of quality in the neighbourhood came often to our house, upon the report spread of "a wonderful *Yahoo*, that could speak like a *Houyhnhnm*, and seemed, in his words and actions, to discover some glimmerings of reason." These delighted to converse with me: they put many questions, and received such answers as I was able to return. By all these advantages I made so great a progress, that, in five months from my arrival, I understood whatever was spoken, and could express myself tolerable well.

The *Houyhnhnms*, who came to visit my master out of a design of seeing and talking with me, could hardly believe me to be a right *Yahoo*, because my body had a different covering from others of my kind. They were astonished to observe me without the usual hair or skin, except on my head, face, and hands; but I discovered that secret to my master upon an accident which happened about a fortnight before.

I have already told the reader, that every night, when the family were gone to bed, it was my custom to strip, and cover myself with my clothes: it happened one morning early, that my master sent for me by the sorrel nag, who was his valet; when he came I was fast asleep, my clothes fallen off on one side, and my shirt above my waist. I awaked at the noise he made, and observed him to deliver his mes-

sage in some disorder ; after which he went to my master, and in a great fright gave him a very confused account of what he had seen ; this I presently discovered ; for, going as soon as I was dressed to pay my attendance upon his honour, he asked me “the meaning of what his servant had reported, that I was not the same thing when I slept, as I appeared to be at other times ; that his valet assured him, some part of me was white, some yellow, at least not so white, and some brown.”

I had hitherto concealed the secret of my dress, in order to distinguish myself, as much as possible, from that cursed race of *Yahoos* ; but now I found it in vain to do so any longer. Besides, I considered that my clothes and shoes would soon wear out, which already were in a declining condition, and must be supplied by some contrivance from the hides of *Yahoos*, or other brutes ; whereby the whole secret would be known. I therefore told my master, “that in the country whence I came, those of my kind always covered their bodies with hairs of certain animals prepared by art, as well for decency as to avoid the inclemencies of air, both hot and cold : of which, as to my own person, I would give him immediate conviction, if he pleased to command me : only desiring his excuse, if I did not expose those parts that nature taught us to conceal.” He said, “my discourse was all very strange, but especially the last part ; for he could not understand, why nature should teach us to conceal what nature had given ; that neither himself nor family were ashamed of any parts of their bodies ; but, however, I might do as I pleased.” Whereupon I first unbuttoned my coat, and pulled it off. I did the same with my waistcoat ; I drew off my shoes, stockings, and breeches ; I let my shirt down to my waist, and drew up the bottom, fastening it like a girdle about my middle to hide my nakedness.

My master observed the whole performance with great signs of curiosity and admiration. He took up all my clothes in his pastern, one piece after another, and examined them dili-

gently; he then stroked my body very gently, and looked round me several times; after which, he said, it was plain I must be a perfect *Yahoo*; but that I differed very much from the rest of my species, in the softness, whiteness, and smoothness of my skin; my want of hair on several parts of my body; the shape and shortness of my claws behind and before; and my affectation of walking continually on my two hinder feet. He desired to see no more; and gave me leave to put on my clothes again, for I was shuddering with cold.

I expressed my uneasiness at his giving me so often the appellation of *Yahoo*, an odious animal, for which I had so utter a hatred and contempt: I begged he would forbear applying that word to me, and make the same order in his family and among his friends whom he suffered to see me. I requested likewise, "that the secret of my having a false covering to my body might be known to none but himself, at least as long as my present clothing should last; for, as to what the sorrel nag, his valet, had observed, his honour might command him to conceal it."

All this my master very graciously consented to, and thus the secret was kept till my clothes began to wear out, which I was forced to supply by several contrivances that shall hereafter be mentioned. In the mean time, he desired "I would go on with my utmost diligence to learn their language, because he was more astonished at my capacity for speech and reason, than at the figure of my body, whether it was covered or not;" adding, "that he waited with some impatience to hear the wonders which I promised to tell him."

Thenceforward he doubled the pains he had been at to instruct me: he brought me into all company, and made them treat me with civility; "because," as he told them privately, "this would put me into good humour, and make me more diverting."

Every day, when I waited on him, beside the trouble he

was at in teaching, he would ask me several questions concerning myself, which I answered as well as I could; and by these means he had already received some general ideas, though very imperfect. It would be tedious to relate the several steps by which I advanced to a more regular conversation; but the first account I gave of myself in any order and length was to this purpose:—

“That I came from a very far country, as I already had attempted to tell him, with about fifty more of my own species; that we travelled upon the seas in a great hollow vessel made of wood, and larger than his honour’s house. I described the ship to him in the best terms I could, and explained, by the help of my handkerchief displayed, how it was driven forward by the wind. That upon a quarrel among us, I was set on shore on this coast, where I walked forward, without knowing whither, till he delivered me from the persecution of those execrable *Yahoos*.” He asked me, “who made the ship, and how it was possible that the *Houghnhnms* of my country would leave it to the management of brutes?” My answer was, “that I durst proceed no farther in my relation, unless he would give me his word and honour that he would not be offended, and then I would tell him the wonders I had so often promised.” He agreed; and I went on by assuring him, “that the ship was made by creatures like myself: who, in all the countries I had travelled, as well as in my own, were the only governing rational animals; and that upon my arrival hither,* I was as much astonished to see the *Houghnhnms* act like rational beings, as he, or his friends, could be, in finding some marks of reason in a creature he was pleased to call a *Yahoo*; to which I owned my resemblance in every part, but could not account for their degenerate and brutal nature.” I said farther, “that if good fortune ever restored me to my

* It should be—“upon my arrival here,” not “arrival hither,” which is not English.—S.

native country, to relate my travels hither, as I resolved to do, every body would believe, that I said the thing that was not, that I invented the story out of my own head; and (with all possible respect to himself, his family, and friends, and under his promise of not being offended) our countrymen would hardly think it probable that a *Houyhnhnm* should be the presiding creature of a nation, and a *Yahoo* the brute."

CHAPTER. IV.

The Houyhnhnm's notion of truth and falsehood—The Author's discourse disapproved by his master—The Author given a more particular account of himself, and the accidents of his voyage.

My master heard me with great appearances of uneasiness in his countenance; because doubting, or not believing, are so little known in this country, that the inhabitants cannot tell how to behave themselves under such circumstances; and I remember, in frequent discourses with my master concerning the nature of manhood in other parts of the world, having occasion to talk of lying and false representation, it was with much difficulty that he comprehended what I meant, although he had otherwise a most acute judgment. For he argued thus: "that the use of speech was to make us understand one another, and to receive information of facts; now, if any one said the thing which was not, these ends were defeated, because I cannot properly be said to understand him; and I am so far from receiving information, that he leaves me worse than in ignorance, for I am led to believe a thing black, when it is white, short when it is long." And these were all the notions he had concerning that faculty of lying, so perfectly well understood, and so universally practised, among human creatures.

To return from this digression. When I asserted that the *Yahoos* were the only governing animals in my country, which my master said was altogether past his conception, he desired to know, "whether we had *Houyhnhnms* among us, and what was their employment?" I told him, "we had great numbers

that in summer they grazed in the fields, and in winter were kept in houses with hay and oats, where *Yahoo* servants were employed to rub their skins smooth, comb their manes, pick their feet, serve them with food, and make their beds." "I understand you well," said my master; "it is now very plain, from all you have spoken, that whatever share of reason the *Yahoos* pretend to, the *Houyhnhnms* are your masters; I heartily wish our *Yahoos* would be so tractable." I begged "his honour would please to excuse me from proceeding any farther, because I was very certain that the account he expected from me would be highly displeasing." But he insisted in commanding* me to let him know the best and the worst. I told him "he should be obeyed." I owned "that the *Houyhnhnms* among us, whom we called horses, were the most generous and comely animals we had; that they excelled in strength and swiftness: and when they belonged to persons of quality, were employed in travelling, racing, or drawing chariots; they were treated with much kindness and care, till they fell into diseases, or became foundered in the feet: but then they were sold, and used to all kind of drudgery till they died; after which their skins were stripped, and sold for what they were worth, and their bodies left to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. But the common race of horses had not so good fortune, being kept by farmers and carriers, and other mean people, who put them to greater labour, and fed them worse." I described, as well as I could, our way of riding; the shape and use of a bridle, a saddle, a spur, and a whip; of harness and wheels. I added, "that we fastened plates of a certain hard substance, called iron, at the bottom of their feet, to preserve their hoofs from being broken by the stony ways, on which we often travelled."

My master, after some expressions of great indignation,

* "Insisted in commanding" is not English; it should be, "persisted in commanding," &c.—S.

wondered “how we dared to venture upon a *Houyhnhnm*’s back; for he was sure, that the weakest servant in his house would be able to shake off the strongest *Yahoo*; or by lying down, and rolling on his back, squeeze the brute to death.” I answered, “that our horses were trained up, from three or four years old, to the several uses we intended them for; that if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for carriages; that they were severely beaten, while they were young, for any mischievous tricks; that the males, designed for the common use of riding or draught, were generally castrated about two years after their birth, to take down their spirits, and make them more tame and gentle; that they were indeed sensible of rewards and punishments: but his honour would please to consider, that they had not the least tincture of reason, any more than the *Yahoos* in this country.”

It put me to the pains of many circumlocutions, to give my master a right idea of what I spoke; for their language does not abound in variety of words, because their wants and passions are fewer than among us. But it is impossible to express his noble resentment at our savage treatment of the *Houyhnhnm* race; particularly after I had explained the manner and use of castrating horses among us, to hinder them from propagating their kind, and to render them more servile. He said, “if it were possible there could be any country where *Yahoos* alone were endued with reason, they certainly must be the governing animal; because reason in time will always prevail against brutal strength. But, considering the frame of our bodies, and especially of mine, he thought no creature of equal bulk was so ill contrived for employing that reason in the common offices of life;” whereupon he desired to know “whether those among whom I lived resembled me or the *Yahoos* of this country.” I assured him, “that I was as well shaped as most of my age; but the younger, and the females, were much more soft and tender, and the skins of the latter

generally as white as milk." He said, "I differed indeed from other *Yahoos*, being much more cleanly, and not altogether so deformed; but, in point of real advantage, he thought I differed for the worse; that my nails were of no use either to my fore or hinder feet: as to my fore feet, he could not properly call them by that name, for he never observed me to walk upon them; that they were too soft to bear the ground; that I generally went with them uncovered; neither was the covering I sometimes wore on them of the same shape, or so strong as that on my feet behind: that I could not walk with any security, for if either of my hinder feet slipped, I must inevitably fall." He then began to find fault with other parts of my body; the flatness of my face, the prominence of my nose, mine eyes, placed directly in front, so that I could not look on either side, without turning my head: that I was not able to feed myself, without lifting one of my fore-feet to my mouth; and therefore nature had placed those joints to answer that necessity. He knew not what could be the use of those several clefts and divisions in my feet behind; that these were too soft to bear the hardness and sharpness of stones, without a covering made from the skin of some other brute; that my whole body wanted a fence against heat and cold, which I was forced to put on and off every day, with tediousness and trouble: and lastly, that he observed every animal in this country naturally to abhor the *Yahoos*, whom the weaker avoided, and the stronger drove from them. So that, supposing us to have the gift of reason, he could not see how it were possible to cure that natural antipathy which every creature discovered against us; nor consequently how we could tame and render them serviceable. However, "he would," as he said, "debate the matter no farther, because he was more desirous to know my own story, the country where I was born, and the several actions and events of my life, before I came hither."

I assured him “how extremely desirous I was that he should be satisfied on every point ; but I doubted much, whether it would be possible for me to explain myself on several subjects, whereof his honour could have no conception ; because I saw nothing in his country to which I could resemble them : that, however, I would do my best, and strive to express myself by similitudes, humbly desiring his assistance when I wanted proper words ; which he was pleased to promise me.”

I said, “my birth was of honest parents, in an island called England ; which was remote from his country, as many days’ journey as the strongest of his honour’s servants could travel, in the annual course of the sun : that I was bred a surgeon, whose trade it is to cure wounds and hurts in the body, gotten by accident or violence ; that my country was governed by a female man, whom we call queen ; that I left it to get riches, whereby I might maintain myself and family, when I should return ; that, in my last voyage, I was commander of the ship, and had about fifty *Yahoos* under me, many of which died at sea, and I was forced to supply them by others picked out from several nations ; that our ship was twice in danger of being sunk, the first time by a great storm, and the second by striking against a rock.” Here my master interposed, by asking me, “how I could persuade strangers, out of different countries, to venture with me, after the losses I had sustained, and the hazards I had run.” I said, “they were fellows of desperate fortunes, forced to fly from the places of their birth on account of their poverty or their crimes. Some were undone by lawsuits ; others spent all they had in drinking, whoring and gaming ; others fled for treason ; many for murder, theft, poisoning, robbery, perjury, forgery, coining false money ; for committing rapes, or sodomy ; for flying from their colours, or deserting to the enemy ; and most of them had broken prison ; none of these durst return to their native countries, for fear of

being hanged, or of starving in a jail : and therefore they were under the necessity of seeking a livelihood in other places."

During this discourse, my master was pleased to interrupt me several times. I had made use of many circumlocutions in describing to him the nature of the several crimes for which most of our crew had been forced to fly their country. This labour took up several days' conversation, before he was able to comprehend me. He was wholly at a loss to know what could be the use or necessity of practising those vices. To clear up which, I endeavoured to give some ideas of the desire of power and riches ; of the terrible effects of lust, intemperance, malice, and envy. All this I was forced to define and describe by putting cases, and making suppositions. After which, like one whose imagination was struck with something never seen or heard of before, he would lift up his eyes with amazement and indignation. Power, government, war, law, punishment, and a thousand other things, had no terms, wherein that language could express them ; which made the difficulty almost insuperable, to give my master any conception of what I meant. But being of an excellent understanding, much improved by contemplation and converse, he at last arrived at a competent knowledge of what human nature, in our part of the world, is capable to perform ; and desired I would give him some particular account of that land we call Europe, but especially of my own country.

CHAPTER V.

The Author, at his master's commands, informs him of the state of England—The causes of war among the princes of Europe—The author begins to explain the English constitution.

THE reader may please to observe, that the following extract of many conversations I had with my master, contains a summary of the most material points which were discoursed at several times for above two years; his honor often desiring fuller satisfaction, as I farther improved in the *Houyhnhnm* tongue, I laid before him, as well as I could, the whole state of Europe; I discoursed of trade and manufactures, of arts and sciences; and the answers I gave to all the questions he made, as they arose upon several subjects, were a fund of conversation not to be exhausted. But I shall here only set down the substance of what passed between us concerning my own country, reducing it in order as well as I can, without any regard to time or other circumstances, while I strictly adhere to truth. My only concern is, that I shall hardly be able to do justice to my master's arguments and expressions, which must suffer by my want of capacity, as well as by a translation into our barbarous English.

In obedience therefore to his honor's commands, I related to him the revolution under the Prince of Orange; the long war with France, entered into by the said prince, and renewed by his successor, the present queen: wherein the greatest powers of Christendom were engaged, and which still contin-

ued; I computed at his request, "that about a million of *Yahoos* might have been killed in the whole progress of it; and perhaps a hundred or more cities taken, and five times as many ships burnt or sunk."

He asked me, "what were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another?" I answered, "they were innumerable; but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern; sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their masters in a war, in order to stifle or divert the clamour of the subjects against their evil administration. Difference in opinions has cost many million of lives; for instance, whether flesh be bread, or bread be flesh; whether the juice of a certain berry be blood or wine;* whether whistling be a vice or a virtue;† whether it be better to kiss a post, or throw it into the fire;‡ what is the best colour for a coat, whether black, white, red, or gray; and whether it should be long or short, narrow or wide, dirty or clean, with many more.§ Neither are any wars so furious and bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by difference in opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent.

"Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretends to any right: sometimes one prince quarrels with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him; sometimes a war is entered upon, because the enemy is too strong, and sometimes, because he is too weak; sometimes our neighbours want the things which we have, or have the things which we want, and we both fight, till they take ours, or give us theirs. It is a very justifiable cause of war, to in-

* Transubstantiation.—H.

† Church music.—H.

‡ Kissing a cross.—H.

§ The colour and make of sacred vestments, and different orders of popish ecclesiastics.—H

vade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions among themselves. It is justifiable to enter into war against our nearest ally, when one of his towns lies convenient for us, or a territory of land, that would render our dominions round and compact. If a prince sends forces into a nation, where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent practice, when one prince desires the assistance of another, to secure him against an invasion, that the assistant, when he has driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself, and kill, imprison, or banish the prince he came to relieve. Alliance by blood, or marriage, is a frequent cause of war between princes; and the nearer the kindred is, the greater their disposition to quarrel: poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud: and pride and hunger will ever be at variance. For these reasons, the trade of a soldier is held the most honourable of all others, because a soldier is a *Yahoo* hired to kill, in cold blood, as many of his own species, who have never offended him, as possibly he can.

“There is likewise a kind of beggarly princes in Europe, not able to make war by themselves, who hire out their troops to richer nations, for so much a day to each man; of which they keep three-fourths to themselves, and it is the best part of their maintenance; such as those in many northern parts of Europe.”

“What you have told me,” said my master, “upon the subject of war, does indeed discover most admirably the effects of that reason you pretend to: however, it is happy that the shame is greater than the danger; and that nature has left you utterly incapable of doing much mischief. For, your mouths lying flat with your faces, you can hardly bite each

other to any purpose, unless by consent. Then as to the claws upon your feet before and behind, they are so short and tender, that one of our *Yahoos* would drive a dozen of yours before him. And therefore, in recounting the numbers of those who have been killed in battle, I cannot but think you have said the thing which is not."

I could not forbear shaking my head, and smiling a little at his ignorance. And being no stranger to the art of war, I gave him a description of cannons, culverins, muskets, carabines, pistols, bullets, powder, swords, bayonets battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments sea fights, ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans, limbs flying in the air, smoke, noise, confusion, trampling to death under horses' feet, flight, pursuit, victory; fields strewed with carcasses left for food to dogs, and wolves, and birds of prey; plundering, stripping, ravishing, burning, and destroying. And to set forth the valour of my own dear countrymen, I assured him, "that I had seen them blow up a hundred enemies at once in a siege, and as many in a ship; and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators."*

I was going on to more particulars, when my master com-

* It would perhaps be impossible, by the most laboured argument, or forcible eloquence, to shew the absurd injustice and horrid cruelty of war so effectually, as by this simple exhibition of them in a new light; with war, including every species of iniquity and every art of destruction, we become familiar, by degrees, under specious terms, which are seldom examined, because they are learned at an age in which the mind implicitly receives and retains whatever is impressed: thus it happens, that when one man murders another to gratify his lust, we shudder; but when one man murders a million to gratify his vanity, we approve and we admire, we envy and we applaud. If when this and the preceding pages are read, we discover with astonishment, that when the same events have occurred in history we felt no emotion, and acquiesce in wars which we could not but know to have been commenced for such causes, and carried on by such means; let not him be censured for too much debasing his species, who has contributed to their felicity and preservation, by stripping off the veil of custom and prejudice, and holding up in their native deformity the vices by which they become wretched, and the arts by which they are destroyed.—H.

manded me silence. He said, "whoever understood the nature of *Yahoos*, might easily believe it possible for so vile an animal to be capable of every action I had named, if their strength and cunning equalled their malice. But as my discourse had increased his abhorrence of the whole species, so he found it gave him a disturbance in his mind, to which he was wholly a stranger before. He thought his ears, being used to such abominable words, might, by degrees admit them with less detestation: that although he hated the *Yahoos* of this country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious qualities, than he did a *ginnayh* (a bird of prey) for its cruelty, or a sharp stone for cutting his hoof. But, when a creature pretending to reason could be capable of such enormities, he dreaded lest the corruption of that faculty might be worse than brutality itself. He seemed therefore confident, that, instead of reason, we were only possessed of some quality, fitted to increase our natural vices; as the reflection from a troubled stream returns the image of an ill-shapen body, not only large but more distorted."

He added, "that he had heard too much upon the subject of war, both in this and some former discourses. There was another point, which a little perplexed him at present. I had informed him, that some of our crew left their country on account of being ruined by law; that I had already explained the meaning of the word; but he was at a loss how it should come to pass, that the law, which was intended for every man's preservation, should be any man's ruin. Therefore he desired to be farther satisfied what I meant by law, and the dispensers thereof, according to the present practice in my own country; because he thought nature and reason were sufficient guides for a reasonable animal, as we pretended to be, in shewing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid."

I assured his honour, that law was a science, in which I had not much conversed, farther than by employing advocates

in vain, upon some injustices that had been done me : however I would give him all the satisfaction I was able."

I said, "there was a society of men among us, bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpose, that white is black, and black is white, according as they are paid!! To this society all the rest of the people are slaves!! For example, if my neighbour has a mind to my cow, he has a lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me. I must then hire another to defend my right, it being against all rules of law that any man should be allowed to speak for himself!! Now, in this case, I, who am the right owner, lie under two great disadvantages : first, my lawyer, being practised almost from his cradle in defending falsehood, is quite out of his element when he would be an advocate for justice, which is an unnatural office he always attempts with great awkwardness, if not with ill will! The second disadvantage is, that my lawyer must proceed with great caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the judges, and abhorred by his brethren, as one that would lessen the practice of the law! And therefore I have but two methods to preserve my cow. The first is, to gain over my adversary's lawyer with a double fee, who will then betray his client by insinuating that he has justice on his side. The second way is for my lawyer to make my cause appear as unjust as he can by allowing the cow to belong to my adversary : and this, if it be skilfully done, will certainly bespeak the favour of the bench! Now your honour is to know, that these judges are persons appointed to decide all controversies of property, as well as for the trial of criminals, and picked out from the most dexterous lawyers, who have grown old or lazy; and having been biassed all their lives against truth and equity, lie under such a fatal necessity of favouring fraud, perjury, and oppression, that I have known some of them refuse a large bribe from the side where justice lay, rather than injure the

faculty, by doing any thing unbecoming their nature or their office.

“It is a maxim among these lawyers, that whatever has been done before, may legally be done again; and therefore they take special care to record all the decisions formerly made against common justice, and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of precedents, they produce as authorities to justify the most iniquitous opinions: and the judges never fail of directing accordingly.

“In pleading, they studiously avoid entering into the merits of the cause; but are loud, violent, and tedious, in dwelling upon all circumstances which are not to the purpose. For instance, in the case already mentioned; they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary has to my cow; but whether the said cow were red or black; her horns long or short; whether the field I graze her in be round or square; whether she was milked at home or abroad; what diseases she is subject to, and the like; after which they consult precedents, adjourn the cause from time to time, and in ten, twenty, or thirty years, come to an issue.

“It is likewise to be observed, that this society has a peculiar cant and jargon of their own, that no other mortal can understand, and wherein all their laws are written, which they take special care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very essence of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong; so that it will take thirty years to decide, whether the field, left me by my ancestors for six generations, belongs to me, or to a stranger, three hundred miles off.

“In the trial of persons accused for crimes against the state, the method is much more short and commendable: the judge first sends to sound the disposition of those in power, after which he can easily hang or save a criminal, strictly preserving all due forms of law.”

Here my master interposing, said, “it was a pity, that crea

tures endowed with such prodigious abilities of mind, as these lawyers, by the description I gave of them, must certainly be, were not rather encouraged to be instructors of others in wisdom and knowledge." In answer to which I assured his honour, "that in all points out of their own trade, they were usually the most ignorant and stupid generation among us, the most despicable in common conversation, avowed enemies to all knowledge and learning, and equally disposed to pervert the general reason of mankind, in every other subject of discourse as in that of their own profession."

CHAPTER. VI.

A continuation of the state in England under Queen Anne—The character of a first minister of state in European courts.

My master was yet wholly at a loss to understand what motives could incite this race of lawyers to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves, and engage in a confederacy of injustice, merely for the sake of injuring their fellow-animals; neither could he comprehend what I meant in saying, they did it for hire. Whereupon I was at much pains to describe to him the use of money, the materials it was made of; and the value of the metals; “that when a *Yahoo* had got a great store of this precious substance, he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to, the finest clothing, the noblest houses, great tracts of land, the most costly meats and drinks; and have his choice of the most beautiful females. Therefore, since money alone was able to perform all these feats, our *Yahoos* thought they could never have enough of it to spend, or to save, as they found themselves inclined, from their natural bent either to profusion or avarice. That the rich man enjoyed the fruit of the poor man’s labour, and the latter were a thousand to one in proportion to the former. That the bulk of our people were forced to live very miserably, by labouring every day for small wages, to make a few live plentifully.

I enlarged myself much on these, and many other particulars to the same purpose; but his honour was still to seek; for he went upon a supposition that all animals had a title to their

share in the productions of the earth, and especially those who presided over the rest. Therefore he desired I would let him know, "what these costly meats were, and how any of us happened to want them?" Whereupon I enumerated as many sorts as came into my head, with the various methods of dressing them, which could not be done without sending vessels by sea to every part of the world, as well for liquors to drink as for sauces and innumerable other conveniences. I assured him, "that this whole globe of earth must be at least three times gone round, before one of our better female *Yahoos* could get her breakfast, or a cup to put it in." He said, "that must needs be a miserable country, which cannot furnish food for its own inhabitants. But what he chiefly wondered at was, how such vast tracts of ground as I described should be wholly without fresh water, and the people put to the necessity of sending over the sea for drink." I replied, "that England (the dear place of my nativity) was computed to produce three times the quantity of food more than its inhabitants are able to consume, as well as liquors extracted from grain, or pressed out of the fruit of certain trees, which made excellent drink; and the same proportion in every other convenience of life. But, in order to feed the luxury and intemperance of the males, and the vanity of the females, we sent away the greatest part of our necessary things to other countries, whence in return we brought the materials of diseases, folly, and vice, to spend among ourselves. Hence it follows of necessity that vast numbers of our people are compelled to seek their livelihood by begging, robbing, stealing, cheating, pimping, flattering, suborning, forswearing, forging, gaming, lying, fawning, hectoring, voting, scribbling, stargazing, poisoning, whoring, canting, libelling, free-thinking, and the like occupations:" very one of which terms I was at much pains to make him understand.

"That wine was not imported among us from foreign coun

tries, to supply the want of water or other drinks, but because it was a sort of liquid which made us merry, by putting us out of our senses, diverted all melancholy thoughts, begat wild extravagant imaginations in the brain, raised our hopes and banished our fears, suspended every office of reason for a time, and deprived us of the use of our limbs, till we fell into a profound sleep; although it must be confessed that we always awaked sick and dispirited; and that the use of this liquor filled us with diseases, which made our lives uncomfortable and short.

“But besides all this, the bulk of our people supported themselves by furnishing the necessities or conveniences of life to the rich, and to each other. For instance, when I am at home, and dressed as I ought to be, I carry on my body the workmanship of a hundred tradesmen; the building and furniture of my house employ as many more, and five times the number to adorn my wife.”

I was going on to tell him of another sort of people, who get their livelihood by attending the sick, having, upon some occasions, informed his honor, that many of my crew had died of diseases. But, here it was with the utmost difficulty that I brought him to apprehend what I meant. “He could easily conceive, that a *Houyhnhnm* grew weak and heavy a few days before his death, or by some accident might hurt a limb; but that nature, who works all things to perfection, should suffer any pains to breed in our bodies, he thought impossible, and desired to know the reason of so unaccountable an evil.”

I told him “we fed on a thousand things, which operated contrary to each other; that we eat when we were not hungry, and drank without the provocation of thirst; that we sat whole nights drinking strong liquors, without eating a bit, which disposed us to sloth, inflamed our bodies, and precipitated or prevented digestion. That prostitute female *Yahoos*

acquired a certain malady, which bred rottenness in the bones of those who fell into their embraces; that this, and many other diseases, were propagated from father to son; so that great numbers come into the world with complicated maladies upon them: that it would be endless to give him a catalogue of all diseases incident to human bodies, for they would not be fewer than five or six hundred, spread over every limb and joint—in short, every part, external and intestine, having diseases appropriated to itself. To remedy which, there was a sort of people bred up among us in the profession, on pretence of curing the sick. And because I had some skill in the faculty, I would, in gratitude to his honour, let him know the whole mystery and method by which they proceed.

“Their fundamental is, that all diseases arise from repletion; whence they conclude, that a great evacuation of the body is necessary, either through the natural passage or upwards at the mouth. Their next business is, from herbs, minerals, gums, oils, shells, salts, juices, seaweed, excrements, barks of trees, serpents, toads, frogs, spiders, dead men’s flesh and bones, birds, beasts, and fishes, to form a composition, for smell and taste, the most abominable, nauseous, and detestable, they can possibly contrive, which the stomach immediately rejects with loathing, and this they call a vomit; or else, from the same storehouse, with some other poisonous additions, they command us to take in at the orifice above or below (just as the physician then happens to be disposed) a medicine equally annoying and disgusting to the bowels; which, relaxing the belly, drives down all before it; and this they call a purge or clyster. For nature (as the physicians allege) having intended the superior anterior orifice only for the intromission of solids and liquids, and the inferior posterior for ejection. these artists* ingeniously considering, that in all diseases na-

* “These artists,” is a nominative, without any verb to which it refers in the remainder of the sentence—S.

ture is forced out of her seat, therefore, to replace her in it, the body must be treated in a manner directly contrary, by interchanging the use of each orifice; forcing solids and liquids in at the anus, and making evacuations at the mouth.

“But, besides real diseases, we are subject to many that are only imaginary, for which the physicians have invented imaginary cures; these have their several names, and so have the drugs that are proper for them; and with these our female *Yahoos* are always infested.

“One great excellency in this tribe, is their skill at prognostics, wherein they seldom fail; their predictions in real diseases, when they rise to any degree of malignity, generally portending death, which is always in their power, when recovery is not: and therefore, upon any unexpected signs of amendment, after they pronounced their sentence, rather than be accused as false prophets, they know how to approve their sagacity to the world, by a seasonable dose.

“They are likewise of special use to husbands and wives who are grown weary of their mates; to eldest sons, to great ministers of state, and often to princes.”

I had formerly, upon occasions, discoursed with my master upon the nature of government in general, and particularly of our own excellent constitution, deservedly the wonder and envy of the whole world. But having here accidentally mentioned a minister of state, he commanded me some time after to inform him, what species of *Yahoo* I particularly meant by that appellation.

I told him, “that a first or chief minister of state, who was the person I intended to describe, was a creature wholly exempt from joy and grief, love and hatred, pity and anger: at least makes use of no other passions, but a violent desire of wealth, power, and titles; that he applies his word to all uses, except to the indication of his mind; that he never tells a truth but with an intent that you should take it for a lie

nor a lie, but with a design that you should take it for a truth; that those he speaks worst of behind their backs are in the surest way of preferment; and whenever he begins to praise you to others, or to yourself, you are from that day forlorn. The worst mark you can receive is a promise, especially when it is confirmed with an oath; after which every wise man retires, and gives over all hopes.

“There are three methods, by which a man may rise to be chief minister. The first is, by knowing how, with prudence, to dispose of a wife, a daughter, or a sister: the second, by betraying or undermining his predecessor: and the third is, by a furious zeal, in public assemblies, against the corruptions of the court. But a wise prince would rather choose to employ those who practise the last of these methods; because such zealots prove always the most obsequious and subservient to the will and passions of their master. That these ministers, having all employments at their disposal, preserve themselves in power, by bribing the majority of a senate or great council; and at last, by an expedient, called an act of indemnity (whereof I described the nature to him), they secure themselves from after-reckonings, and retire from the public, laden with the spoils of the nation.

“The palace of a chief minister is a seminary to breed up others in his own trade: the pages, lackeys, and porters, by imitating their master, become ministers of state in their several districts, and learn to excel in the three principal ingredients, of insolence, lying, and bribery. Accordingly, they have a subaltern court paid to them by persons of the best rank; and sometimes, by the force of dexterity and impudence, arrive, through several gradations, to be successors to their lord.

“He is usually governed by a decayed wench, or favourite footman, who are the tunnels, through which all graces are

conveyed, and may properly be called, in the last resort, the governors of the kingdom."

One day in discourse, my master, having heard me mention the nobility of my country, was pleased to make me a compliment, which I could not pretend to deserve: "that he was sure I must have been born of some noble family, because I far exceeded in shape, colour, and cleanliness, all the *Yahoos* of his nation, although I seemed to fail in strength and agility, which must be imputed to my different way of living from those other brutes; and besides, I was not only endowed with the faculty of speech, but besides with some rudiments of reason, to a degree that with all his acquaintance I passed for a prodigy."

He made me observe, "that among the *Houyhnhnms*, the white, the sorrel, and the iron-grey, were not so exactly shaped as the bay, the dapple-grey, and the black; nor born with equal talents of mind, or a capacity to improve them; and therefore continued always in the condition of servants, without ever aspiring to match out of their own race, which in that country would be reckoned monstrous and unnatural."

I made his honour my most humble acknowledgments for the good opinion he was pleased to conceive of me; but assured him, at the same time, that my birth was of the lower sort, having been born of plain, honest parents, who were just able to give me a tolerable education: that nobility, amongst us, was altogether a different thing from the idea he had of it; that our young noblemen are bred from their childhood in idleness and luxury; that as soon as years will permit, they consume their vigour, and contract odious diseases among lewd females: and when their fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some woman of mean birth, disagreeable person, and unsound constitution (merely for the sake of money), whom they hate and despise. That the productions

of such marriages are generally scrofulous, ricketty, or deformed children; by which means the family seldom continues above three generations, unless the wife takes care to provide a healthy father, among her neighbours or domestics, in order to improve and continue the breed. That a weak diseased body, a meagre countenance, and sallow complexion, are the true marks of noble blood; and a healthy robust appearance is so disgraceful in a man of quality, that the world concludes his real father to have been a groom or a coachmon. The imperfections of his mind run parallel with those of his body, being a composition of spleen, dulness, ignorance, caprice, sensuality, and pride.

“Without the consent of this illustrious body, no law can be enacted, repealed or altered: and these nobles have likewise the decision of all our possessions without appeal.”

CHAPTER VII.

The Author's great love of his native country—His master's observations upon the constitution and administration of England, as described by the Author, with parallel cases and comparisons—His master's observations upon human nature.

THE reader may be disposed to wonder how I could prevail on myself to give so free a representation of my own species, among a race of mortals who are already too apt to conceive the vilest opinion of human kind, from that entire congruity between me and their *Yahoos*. But I must freely confess, that the many virtues of those excellent quadrupeds, placed in opposite view to human corruptions, had so far opened my eyes and enlarged my understanding, that I began to view the actions and passions of man in a very different light, and to think the honour of my own kind not worth managing; which, besides, it was impossible for me to do, before a person of so acute a judgment as my master, who daily convinced me of a thousand faults in myself, whereof I had not the least perception before, and which, with us, would never be numbered even among human infirmities. I had likewise learned, from his example, an utter detestation of all falsehood or disguise; and truth appeared so amiable to me, that I determined upon sacrificing everything to it.

Let me deal so candidly with the reader as to confess that there was yet a much stronger motive for the freedom I took in my representation of things. I had not yet been a year in this country before I contracted such a love and veneration

for the inhabitants, that I entered on a firm resolution never to return to human kind, but to pass the rest of my life among the admirable *Houyhnhnms*, in the contemplation and practice of every virtue; where I could have no example or incitement to vice. But it was decreed by fortune, my perpetual enemy, that so great a felicity should not fall to my share. However, it is now some comfort to reflect, that in what I said of my countrymen, I extenuated their faults as much as I durst before so strict an examiner; and upon every article gave as favourable a turn as the matter would bear. For, indeed, who is there alive that will not be swayed by his bias and partiality to the place of his birth?

I have related the substance of several conversations I had with my master, during the greatest part of the time I had the honour to be in his service; but have, indeed, for brevity sake, omitted much more than is here set down.

When I had answered all his questions, and his curiosity seemed to be fully satisfied, he sent for me one morning early, and commanded me to sit down at some distance (an honour which he had never before conferred upon me). He said, "he had been very seriously considering my whole story, as far as it related both to myself and to my country: that he looked upon us as a sort of animals, to whose share, by what accident he could not conjecture, some small pittance of reason had fallen, whereof we made no other use, than by its assistance to aggravate our natural corruptions, and to acquire new ones, which nature had not given us; that we disarmed ourselves of the few abilities she had bestowed; had been very successful in multiplying our original wants, and seemed to spend our whole lives in vain endeavours to supply them by our own inventions. That as to myself, it was manifest I had neither the strength nor agility of a common *Yahoo*; that I walked infirmly on my hinder feet; had found out a contrivance to make my claws of no

use or defence, and to remove the hair from my chin, which was intended as a shelter from the sun and the weather. Lastly, that I could neither run with speed, nor climb trees, like my brethren," as he called them, "the *Yahoos* in his country."

"That our institutions of government and law were plainly owing to our gross defects in reason, and by consequence in virtue; because reason alone is sufficient to govern a rational creature; which was therefore a character we had no pretence to challenge, even from the account I had given of my own people; although he manifestly perceived, that, in order to favour them, I had concealed many particulars, and often said the thing which was not.

"He was the more confirmed in this opinion, because he observed, that as I agreed in every feature of my body with other *Yahoos*, except where it was to my real disadvantage in point of strength, speed, and activity, the shortness of my claws and some other particulars where nature had no part: so from the representation I had given him of our lives, our manners, and our actions, he found as near a resemblance in the disposition of our minds." He said, "the *Yahoos* were known to hate one another, more than they did any different species of animals; and the reason usually assigned was, the odiousness of their own shapes, which all could see in the rest, but not in themselves. He had therefore begun to think it not unwise in us to cover our bodies, and by that invention conceal many of our deformities from each other, which would else be hardly supportable. But he now found he had been mistaken, and that the dissensions of those brutes in his country were owing to the same cause with ours, as I had described them. For if," said he, "you throw among five *Yahoos* as much food as would be sufficient for fifty, they will, instead of eating peaceably, fall together by the ears, each single one impatient to have all to itself; and therefore a

servant was usually employed to stand by while they were feeding abroad, and those kept at home were tied at a distance from each other : that if a cow died of age or accident, before a *Houyhnhnm* could secure it for his own *Yahoos*, those in the neighbourhood would come in herds to seize it, and then would ensue such a battle as I had described, with terrible wounds made by their claws on both sides, although they seldom were able to kill one another, for want of such convenient instruments of death as we had invented. At other times the like battles have been fought between the *Yahoos* of several neighbourhoods, without any visible cause ; those of one district watching all opportunities to surprise the next, before they are prepared. But if they find their project has miscarried, they return home, and, for want of enemies, engage in what I call a civil war among themselves.

“That in some fields of his country there are certain shining stones of several colours, whereof the *Yahoos* are violently fond ; and when part of these stones is fixed in the earth, as it sometimes happens, they will dig with their claws for whole days to get them out, then carry them away, and hide them by heaps in their kennels ; but still looking round with great caution, for fear their comrades should find out their treasure.” My master said, “he could never discover the reason of this unnatural appetite, or how these stones could be of any use to a *Yahoo* ; but now he believed it might proceed from the same principle of avarice which I had ascribed to mankind. That he had once, by way of experiment, privately removed a heap of these stones from the place where one of his *Yahoos* had buried it ; whereupon the sordid animal, missing his treasure, by his loud lamenting brought the whole herd to the place, there miserably howled, then fell to biting and tearing the rest ; began to pine away, would neither eat, nor sleep, nor work, till he ordered a servant privately to convey the stones into the same hole, and hide them

as before ; which, when his *Yahoo* had found, he presently recovered his spirits and good humour, but took good care to remove them to a better hiding-place, and has ever since been a very serviceable brute."

My master farther assured me, which I also observed myself, "that in the fields where the shining stones abound, the fiercest and most frequent battles are fought, occasioned by perpetual inroads of the neighbouring *Yahoos*."

He said, "it was common, when two *Yahoos* discovered such a stone in a field, and were contending which of them should be the proprietor, a third would take the advantage, and carry it away from them both ;" which my master would needs contend to have some kind of resemblance with our suits at law ; where in I thought it for our credit not to undeceive him ; since the decision he mentioned was much more equitable than many decrees among us : because the plaintiff and defendant there lost nothing beside the stone they contended for ; whereas our courts of equity would never have dismissed the cause, while either of them had anything left.

My master, continuing his discourse, said, "there was nothing that rendered the *Yahoos* more odious, than their undistinguishing appetite to devour every thing that came in their way, whether herbs, roots, berries, the corrupted flesh of animals, or all mingled together : and it was peculiar in their temper, that they were fonder of what they could get by rapine or stealth, at a greater distance, than much better food provided for them at home. If their prey held out, they would eat till they were ready to burst ; after which nature had pointed out to them a certain root that gave them a general evacuation.

"There was also another kind of root, very juicy, but somewhat rare and difficult to be found, which the *Yahoos* sought for with much eagerness, and would suck it with great delight ; it produced in them the same effects that wine has

upon us. It would make them sometimes hug, and sometimes tear one another; they would howl, and grin, and chatter, and reel, and tumble, and then fall asleep in the mud."

I did indeed observe that the *Yahoos* were the only animals in this country subject to any diseases; which, however, were much fewer than horses have among us, and contracted not by any ill-treatment they meet with, but by the nastiness and greediness of that sordid brute. Neither has their language any more than a general appellation for these maladies, which is borrowed from the name of the beast, and called *hnea yahoo*, or *Yahoo's evil*; and the cure prescribed is a mixture of their own dung and urine, forcibly put down the *Yahoo's* throat. This I have since often known to have been taken with success, and do here freely recommend it to my countrymen, for the public good, as an admirable specific against all diseases produced by repletion.

"As to learning, government, arts, manufactures, and the like," my master confessed, "he could find little or no resemblance between the *Yahoos* of that country and those in ours. For he only meant to observe, what parity there was in our natures. He had heard, indeed, some curious *Houyhnhnms* observe, that in most herds there was a sort of ruling *Yahoo*, (as among us there is generally some leading or principal stag in a park), who is always more deformed in body, and mischievous in disposition, than any of the rest. That this leader had usually a favourite, as like himself as he could get, whose employment was to lick his master's feet and posteriors, and drive the female *Yahoos* to his kennel;* for which he was now and then rewarded with a piece of ass's flesh. This favourite is hated by the whole herd, and therefore, to protect himself, keeps always near the person of his leader. He usually continues in office till a worse can be found: but the very moment he is discarded, his successor, at the head

* Flattery and pimping.—H.

of all the *Yahoos* in that district, young and old, male and female, come in a body,* and discharged their excrements upon him from head to foot. But how far this might be applicable to our courts and favourites, and ministers of state, my master said I could best determine."

I durst make no return to this malicious insinuation, which debased human understanding below the sagacity of a common hound, who has judgment enough to distinguish and follow the cry of the ablest dog in the pack, without being ever mistaken.

My master told me "there were some qualities remarkable in the *Yahoos*, which he had not observed me to mention, or at least very slightly, in the accounts I had given of human kind." He said, "those animals, like other brutes, had their females in common; but in this they differed, that the she *Yahoo* would admit the males while she was pregnant; and that the hes would quarrel and fight with the females, as fiercely as with each other; both which practices were such degrees of infamous brutality, as no other sensitive creature ever arrived at.

"Another thing he wondered at in the *Yahoos*, was their strange disposition to nastiness and dirt; whereas there appears to be a natural love of cleanliness in all other animals." As to the two former accusations, I was glad to let them pass without any reply, because I had not a word to offer upon them in defence of my species, which otherwise I certainly had done from my own inclinations. But I could have easily vindicated humankind from the imputation of singularity upon the last article, if there had been any swine in the country (as unluckily for me there were not), which, although it may be a sweeter quadruped than a *Yahoo*, cannot, I humbly con-

* This sentence 's altogether ungrammatical: "his successor," is the only nominative to the plural verb "come;" it may be thus amended—"but the very moment he is discarded, all the *Yahoos* in that district, young and old, male and female, with his successor at their head, come in a body," &c.—S.

ceive, in justice, pretend to more cleanliness ; and so his honour himself must have owned, if he had seen their filthy way of feeding, and their custom of wallowing and sleeping in mud.

My master likewise mentioned another quality, which his servants had discovered in several *Yahoos*, and to him was wholly unaccountable. He said, "a fancy would sometimes take a *Yahoo* to retire into a corner, to lie down, and howl, and moan, and spurn away all that came near him, though he were young and fat, wanted neither food nor water, nor did the servant imagine what might possibly ail him. And the only remedy they found was, to set him to hard work, after which he would infallibly come to himself." To this I was silent, out of partiality to my kind ; yet here I could plainly discover the true seeds of spleen, which only seizes on the lazy, the luxurious, and the rich ; who,* if they were forced to undergo the same regimen, I would undertake for the cure.

His honour had farther observed, "that a female *Yahoo* would often stand behind a bank or a bush, to gaze on the young males passing by, and then appear, and hide, using many antic grimaces, at which time it was observed that she had a most offensive smell ; and when any of the males advanced, would slowly retire, looking often back, and with a counterfeit show of fear, run off into some convenient place, where she knew the male would follow her.

"At other times, if a female stranger came among them, three or four of her own sex would get about her, and stare, and chatter, and grin, and smell her all over ; and then turn off with gestures, that seemed to express contempt and disdain."

Perhaps my master might refine a little in these speculations, which he had drawn from what he observed himself,

*Here the word "who," is a nominative without reference to any verb afterward.—S.

or had been told him by others; however, I could not reflect without some amazement, and much sorrow, that the rudiments of lewdness, coquetry, censure, and scandal, should have place by instinct in womankind

I expected every moment that my master would accuse the Yahoos of those unnatural appetites in both sexes, so common among us. But Nature, it seems, has not been so expert a schoolmistress; and these politer pleasures are entirely the productions of Art and Reason on our side of the globe.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Author relates several particulars of the Yahoos—The great virtues of the Houyhnhnms—The education and exercise of their youth—Their general assembly.

As I ought to have understood human nature much better than I supposed it possible for my master to do, so it was easy to apply the character he gave of the Yahoos to myself and my countrymen; and I believed I could yet make farther discoveries, from my own observation. I therefore often begged his honour to let me go among the herds of Yahoos in the neighbourhood; to which he always very graciously consented, being perfectly convinced that the hatred I bore these brutes would never suffer me to be corrupted by them; and his honour ordered one of his servants, a strong sorrel nag, very honest and good-natured, to be my guard; without whose protection I durst not undertake such adventures. For I have already told the reader how much I was pestered by these odious animals, upon my first arrival; and I afterward failed very narrowly three or four times of falling into their clutches, when I happened to stray at any distance without my hanger. And I have reason to believe they had some imagination that I was of their own species, which I often assisted myself by stripping up my sleeves, and showing my naked arms and breasts in their sight, when my protector was with me. At which times they would approach as near as they durst, and imitate my actions after the manner of monkeys,

but ever with great signs of hatred ; as a tame jackdaw with cap and stockings is always persecuted by the wild ones, when he happens to be got among them.

They are prodigiously nimble from their infancy. However, I once caught a young male of three years old, and endeavoured, by all marks of tenderness, to make it quiet ; but the little imp fell a squalling, and scratching, and biting with such violence, that I was forced to let it go ; and it was high time, for a whole troop of old ones came about us at the noise, but finding the cub was safe (for away it ran), and my sorrel nag being by, they durst not venture near us. I observed the young animal's flesh to smell very rank, and the stink was somewhat between a weasel and a fox, but much more disagreeable. I forgot another circumstance (and perhaps I might have the reader's pardon if it were wholly omitted), that while I held the odious vermin in my hands, it voided its filthy excrements, of a yellow liquid substance, all over my clothes ; but by good fortune there was a small brook hard by, where I washed myself as clean as I could ; although I durst not come into my master's presence until I were sufficiently aired.

By what I could discover, the Yahoos appear to be the most unteachable of all animals : their capacities never reaching higher than to draw or carry burdens. Yet I am of opinion, this defect arises chiefly from a perverse, restiff disposition. For they are cunning, malicious, treacherous, and revengeful. They are strong and hardy, but of a cowardly spirit, and by consequence insolent, abject, and cruel. It is observed, that the red-haired of both sexes are more libidinous and mischievous than the rest, whom yet they much exceed in strength and activity.

The *Houyhnhnms* keep the *Yahoos* for present use in huts not far from the house ; but the rest are sent abroad to certain fields, where they dig up roots, eat several kinds of herbs,

and search about for carrion, or sometimes catch weasels and *luhimuhs* (a sort of wild rat), which they greedily devour. Nature has taught them to dig deep holes with their nails on the side of a rising ground, wherein they lie by themselves; only the kennels of the females are larger, sufficient to hold two or three cubs.

They swim from their infancy like frogs, and are able to continue long under water, where they often take fish, which the females carry home to their young. And upon this occasion, I hope the reader will pardon my relating an odd adventure.

Being one day abroad with my protector, the sorrel nag, and the weather exceeding hot, I entreated him to let me bathe in a river that was near. He consented, and I immediately stripped myself stark naked, and went down softly into the stream. It happened that a young female *Yahoo*, standing behind a bank, saw the whole proceeding, and inflamed by desire, as the nag and I conjectured, came running with all speed, and leaped into the water, within five yards of the place where I bathed. I was never in my life so terribly frightened. The nag was grazing at some distance, not suspecting any harm. She embraced me after a most fulsome manner. I roared as loud as I could, and the nag came galloping towards me, whereupon she quitted her grasp, with the utmost reluctancy, and leaped upon the opposite bank, where she stood gazing and howling all the time I was putting on my clothes.

This was a matter of diversion to my master and his family, as well as of mortification to myself. For now I could no longer deny that I was a real *Yahoo* in every limb and feature, since the females had a natural propensity to me, as one of their own species; neither was the hair of this brute of a red colour (which might have been some excuse for an appetite a little irregular), but black as a sloe, and her countenance

did not make an appearance altogether so hideous as the rest of her kind ; for I think she could not be above eleven years old.

Having lived three years in this country, the reader, I suppose, will expect that I should, like other travellers, give him some account of the manners and customs of its inhabitants, which it was indeed my principal study to learn.

As these noble *Houyhnhnms* are endowed by nature with a general disposition to all virtues, and have no conceptions or ideas of what is evil in a rational creature ; so their grand maxim is, to cultivate reason, and to be wholly governed by it. Neither is reason among them a point problematical, as with us, where men can argue with plausibility on both sides of the question ; but strikes you with immediate conviction ; as it must needs do, where it is not mingled, obscured, or discoloured, by passion and interest. I remember it was with extreme difficulty that I could bring my master to understand the meaning of the word *opinion*, or how a point could be disputable ; because reason taught us to affirm or deny only where we are certain ; and beyond our knowledge we cannot do either. So that controversies, wranglings, disputes, and positiveness, in false or dubious propositions, are evils unknown among the *Houyhnhnms*. In the like manner, when I used to explain to him our several systems of natural philosophy, he would laugh “ that a creature pretending to reason, should value itself upon the knowledge of other people’s conjectures and in things where that knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no use.” Wherein he agreed entirely with the sentiments of Socrates as Plato delivers them ; which I mention as the highest honour I can do that prince of philosophers. I have often since reflected, what destruction such doctrines would make in the libraries of Europe ; and how many paths of fame would be then shut up in the learned world.

Friendship and benevolence are the two principal virtues

among the *Houyhnhnms*, and these are not confined to particular objects, but universal to the whole race. For a stranger from the remotest part is equally treated with the nearest neighbour; and wherever, he goes, looks upon himself as at home. They preserve decency and civility in the highest degrees, but are altogether ignorant of ceremony. They have no fondness for their colts or foals, but the care they take in educating them proceeds entirely from the dictates of reason. And I observed my master to shew the same affection to his neighbour's issue, that he had for his own. They will have it that nature teaches them to love the whole species, and it is reason only that makes a distinction of persons, where there is a superior degree of virtue.

When the matron *Houyhnhnms* have produced one of each sex, they no longer accompany with their consorts, except they lose one of their issue by some casualty, which very seldom happens; but in such a case they meet again; or when the like accident befalls a person whose wife is past bearing, some other couple bestow on him one of their own colts, and then go together again until the mother is pregnant. This caution is necessary, to prevent the country from being overburdened with numbers. But the race of inferior *Houyhnhnms* bred up to be servants, is not so strictly limited upon this article: these are allowed to produce three of each sex, to be domestics in the noble families.

In their marriages, they are exactly careful to choose such colours as will not make any disagreeable mixture in the breed. Strength is chiefly valued in the male, and comeliness in the female; not upon the account of love, but to preserve the race from degenerating; for where a female happens to excel in strength, a consort is chosen, with regard to comeliness.

Courtship, love, presents, jointures, settlements, have no place in their thoughts; or terms whereby to express them

in their language. The young couple meet, and are joined, merely because it is the determination of their parents and friends: it is what they see done every day, and they look upon it as one of the necessary actions of a reasonable being. But the violation of marriage, or any other unchastity, was never heard of, and the married pair pass their lives with the same friendship and mutual benevolence, that they bear to all others of the same species who come in their way; without jealousy, fondness, quarrelling, or discontent. — ?

In educating the youth of both sexes, their method is admirable, and highly deserves our imitation. These are not suffered to taste a grain of oats, except upon certain days, till eighteen years old; nor milk, but very rarely; and in summer they graze two hours in the morning, and as many in the evening, which their parents likewise observe; but the servants are not allowed above half that time, and a great part of their grass is brought home, which they eat at the most convenient hours, when they can be best spared from work.

Temperance, industry, exercise, and cleanliness, are the lessons equally enjoined to the young ones of both sexes; and my master thought it monstrous in us, to give the females a different kind of education from the males, except in some articles of domestic management; whereby, as he truly observed, one half of our natives were good for nothing but bringing children into the world: and to trust the care of our children to such useless animals, he said, was yet a greater instance of brutality.

But the *Houyhnhnms* train up their youth to strength, speed, and hardiness by exercising them in running races up and down steep hills, and over hard stony grounds; and when they are all in a sweat, they are ordered to leap over head and ears into a pond or river. Four times a year the youth of a certain district meet to shew their proficiency in running and leaping, and other feats of strength and agility; where the

victor is rewarded with a song in his or her praise. On this festival, the servants drive a herd of *Yahoos* into the field, laden with hay, and oats, and milk, for a repast to the *Houyhnhnms*, after which, these brutes are immediately driven back again, for fear of being noisome to the assembly.

Every fourth year, at the vernal equinox, there is a representative council of the whole nation, which meets in a plain about twenty miles from our house, and continues about five or six days. Here they inquire into the state and condition of the several districts; whether they abound or be deficient in hay, or oats, or cows, or *Yahoos*: and wherever there is any want (which is but seldom) it is immediately supplied by unanimous consent and contribution. Here likewise the regulation of children is settled: as for instance, if a *Houyhnhnm* has two males, he changes one of them with another that has two females: and when a child has been lost by any casualty where the mother is past breeding, it is determined what family in the district shall breed another to supply the loss.

CHAPTER IX.

A grand debate at the general assembly of the Houyhnhnms, and how it was determined—The learning of the Houyhnhnms—Their buildings—Their manner of burials—The defectiveness of their language.

ONE of these grand assemblies was held in my time, about three months before my departure, whither my master went as the representative of our district. In this council was resumed their old debate, and indeed the only debate that ever happened in their country; whereof my master, after his return, gave me a very particular account.

The question to be debated was, “Whether the *Yahoos* should be exterminated from the face of the earth?” One of the members for the affirmative offered several arguments of great strength and weight, alleging, “that as the *Yahoos* were the most filthy, noisome, and deformed animal which nature ever produced, so they were the most restiff and indocible, mischievous and malicious; they would privately suck the teats of the *Houyhnhnms*’ cows, kill and devour their cats, trample down their oats and grass, if they were not continually watched, and commit a thousand other extravagancies.” He took notice of a general tradition “that *Yahoos* had not been always in their country; but that, many ages ago, two of these brutes appeared together upon a mountain; whether produced by the heat of the sun upon corrupted mud and slime, or from the ooze and froth of the sea, was never known: that these *Yahoos* engendered, and their brood, in a short

time, grew so numerous as to overrun and infest the whole nation ; that the *Houyhnhnms*, to get rid of this evil, made a general hunting, and at last enclosed the whole herd ; and destroying the elder, every *Houyhnhnm* kept two young ones in a kennel, and brought them to such a degree of tameness, as an animal, so savage by nature, can be capable of acquiring ; using them for draught and carriage : that there seemed to be much truth in this tradition, and that those creatures could not be *ylnhniamshy* (or *aborigines* of the land), because of the violent hatred the *Houyhnhnms*, as well as all other animals bore, them, which, although their evil disposition sufficiently deserved, could never have arrived at so high a degree, if they had been aborigines ; or else they would have been long since rooted out : that the inhabitants, taking a fancy to use the service of the *Yahoos*, had very imprudently neglected to cultivate the breed of asses, which are a comely animal, easily kept, more tame and orderly, without any offensive smell ; strong enough for labour, although they yield to the other in agility of body ; and if their braying be no agreeable sound, it is far preferable to the horrible howlings of the *Yahoos*."

Several others declared their sentiments to the same purpose, when my master proposed an expedient to the assembly, whereof he had indeed borrowed the hint from me. "He approved of the tradition mentioned by the honourable member who spoke before, and affirmed that the two *Yahoos* said to be first seen among them, had been driven thither over the sea : that coming to land, and being forsaken by their companions, they retired to the mountains, and degenerating by degrees, became in process of time much more savage than those of their own species in the country whence these two originals came. The reason of this assertion was, that he had now in his possession a certain wonderful *Yahoo* (meaning myself), which most of them had heard of, and many of them

seen. He then related to them how he first found me; that my body was all covered with an artificial composure of the skins and hairs of other animals: that I spoke in a language of my own, and had thoroughly learned theirs; that I had related to him the accidents which brought me thither; that when he saw me without any covering, I was an exact *Yahoo* in every part, only of a whiter colour, less hairy, and with shorter claws. He added, how I had endeavoured to persuade him, that in my own and other countries, the *Yahoos* acted as the governing rational animal, and held the *Houyhnhnms* in servitude; that he observed in me all the qualities of a *Yahoo*, only a little more civilized by some tincture of reason, which, however, was in a degree as far inferior to the *Houyhnhnm* race, as the *Yahoos* of their country were to me; that among other things, I mentioned a custom we had of castrating *Houyhnhnms* when they were young, in order to render them tame; that the operation was easy and safe; that it was no shame to learn wisdom from brutes, as industry was taught by the ant, and building by the swallow (for so I translate the word *lyhannh*, although it be a much larger fowl); that this invention might be practised upon the younger *Yahoos* here, which besides rendering them tractable and fitter for use, would in an age put an end to the whole species, without destroying life; that in the mean time the *Houyhnhnms* should be exhorted to cultivate the breed of asses, which as they are in all respects more valuable brutes, so they have this advantage, to be fit for service at five years old, which the others are not till twelve."

This was all my master thought fit to tell me at that time, of what passed in the grand council. But he was pleased to conceal one particular, which related personally to myself, whereof I soon felt the unhappy effect, as the reader will know in its proper place, and whence I date all the succeeding misfortunes of my life.

The *Houyhnhnms* have no letters, and consequently their knowledge is all traditional. But there happening few events of any moment among a people so well united, naturally disposed to every virtue, wholly governed by reason, and cut off from all commerce with other nations, the historical part is easily preserved without burdening their memories. I have already observed that they are subject to no diseases, and therefore can have no need of physicians. However, they have excellent medicines, composed of herbs to cure accidental bruises and cuts in the pastern or frog of the foot by sharp stones, as well as other maims and hurts in the several parts of the body.

They calculate the year by the revolutions of the sun and moon, but use no subdivisions into weeks. They are well enough acquainted with the motions of these two luminaries and understand the nature of eclipses; and this is the utmost progress of their astronomy.

In poetry, they must be allowed to excel all other mortals; wherein the justness of their similes, and the minuteness as well as the exactness of their descriptions, are indeed inimitable. Their verses abound very much in both of these, and usually contain either some exalted notions of friendship and benevolence, or the praises of those who were victors in races and other bodily exercises. Their buildings, although very rude and simple, are not inconvenient, but well contrived to defend them from all injuries of cold and heat. They have a kind of tree, which at forty years old loosens in the root, and falls with the first storm; it grows very straight, and being pointed like stakes, with a sharp stone (for the *Houyhnhnms* know not the use of iron), they stick them erect in the ground, about ten inches asunder, and then weave in oat straw, or sometimes wattles between them. The roof is made after the same manner, and so are the doors.

The *Houyhnhnms* use the hollow part, between the pastern

and the hoof of the fore-foot, as we do our hands, and this with greater dexterity than I could at first imagine. I have seen a white mare of our family thread a needle (which I lent her on purpose) with that joint. They milk their cows, reap their oats, and do all the work which requires hands in the same manner. They have a kind of hard flints, which by grinding against other stones, they form into instruments, that serve instead of wedges, axes, and hammers. With tools made of these flints, they likewise cut their hay, and reap their oats, which there grow naturally in several fields; the *Yahoos* draw home the sheaves in carriages, and the servants tread them in certain covered huts to get out the grain, which was kept in stores. They make a rude kind of earthen and wooden vessels, and bake the former in the sun.

If they can avoid casualties, they die only of old age, and are buried in the obscurest places that can be found, their friends and relations expressing neither joy nor grief at their departure; nor does the dying person discover the least regret that he is leaving the world, any more than if he were upon returning home from a visit to one of his neighbours. I remember my master having once made an appointment with a friend of his family to come to his house, upon some affair of importance: on the fixed day, the mistress and her two children came very late; she made two excuses, first for her husband, who, as she said, happened that very morning to *thnuwnh*. The word is strongly expressive in their language, but not easily rendered into English; it signifies, "to retire to his first mother." Her excuse for not coming sooner, was, that her husband dying late in the morning, she was a good while consulting her servants about a convenient place where his body should be laid; and I observed, she behaved herself at our house as cheerfully as the rest: she died about three months after.

They live generally to seventy or seventy-five years, very

seldom to fourscore : some weeks before their death, they feel a gradual decay, but without pain. During this time they are much visited by their friends, because they cannot go abroad with their usual ease and satisfaction. However, about ten days before their death, which they seldom fail in computing, they return the visits that have been made them by those who are nearest in the neighbourhood, being carried in a convenient sledge drawn by *Yahoos* ; which vehicle they use, not only upon this occasion, but when they grow old, upon long journeys, or when they are lamed by any accident ; and therefore when the dying *Houyhnhnms* return those visits, they take a solemn leave of their friends, as if they were going to some remote part of the country, where they designed to pass the rest of their lives.

I know not whether it may be worth observing, that the *Houyhnhnms* have no word in their language to express any thing that is evil, except what they borrow from the deformities or ill qualities of the *Yahoos*. Thus they denote the folly of a servant, an omission of a child, a stone that cuts their feet, a continuance of foul or unseasonable weather, and the like, by adding to each the epithet of *Yahoo*. For instance *hnhm Yahoo* ; *whnaholm Yahoo*, *ynlhnmndwiklma Yahoo*, and an ill-contrived house *ynholmhnhmrohlnw Yahoo*.

I could, with great pleasure, enlarge farther upon the manners and virtues of this excellent people ; but intending in a short time to publish a volume by itself, expressly upon that subject, I refer the reader thither ; and in the mean time, proceed to relate my own sad catastrophe.

CHAPTER. X.

The Author's economy, and happy life, among the Houyhnhnms—His great improvement in virtue by conversing with them—Their conversations—The Author has notice given him by his master, that he must depart from the country—He falls into a swoon for grief: but submits—He contrives and finishes a canoe by the help of a fellow-servant, and puts to sea at a venture.

I HAD settled my little economy to my own heart's content. My master had ordered a room to be made for me, after their manner, about six yards from the house: the sides and floors of which I plastered with clay, and covered with rush mats of my own contriving; I had beaten hemp, which there grows wild, and made of it a sort of ticking; this I filled with the feathers of several birds I had taken with springes made of *Yahoos'* hairs, and* were excellent food. I had worked two chairs with my knife, the sorrel nag helping me in the grosser and more laborious part. When my clothes were worn to rags, I made myself others with the skins of rabbits, and of a certain beautiful animal, about the same size, called *nnuhnoh*, the skin of which is covered with a fine down. Of these I also made very tolerable stockings. I soled my shoes with wood, which I cut from a tree, and fitted to the upper leather; and when this was worn out, I supplied it with the skins of *Yahoos* dried in the sun. I often got honey out of hollow

* It should be—and "which" were excellent food. This sentence is faulty in other respects; but here, as well as in many other passages of these Voyages, the author has intentionally made use of inaccurate expressions, and studied negligence, in order to make the style more like that of a seafaring man, on which account they have been passed over in silence, where such intention was obvious—S.

trees, which I mingled with water, or ate with my bread. No man could more verify the truth of these two maxims, "That nature is very easily satisfied;" and, "That necessity is the mother of invention." I enjoyed perfect health of body, and tranquillity of mind; I did not feel the treachery or inconstancy of a friend, nor the injuries of a secret or open enemy. I had no occasion of bribing, flattering, or pimping, to procure the favour of any great man, or of his minion. I wanted no fence against fraud or oppression: here was neither physician to destroy my body, nor lawyer to ruin my fortune; no informer to watch my words and actions, or forge accusations against me for hire: here were no gibbers, censurers, backbiters, pickpockets, highwaymen, housebreakers, attorneys, bawds, buffoons, gamesters, politicians, wits, splenetics, tedious talkers, controvertists, ravishers, murderers, robbers, virtuosos; no leaders, or followers, of party and faction; no encouragers to vice, by seducement or examples; no dungeon, axes, gibbets, whipping-posts, or pillories; no cheating shop-keepers or mechanics; no pride, vanity, or affectation; no fops, bullies, drunkards, strolling whores, or poxes; no ranting, lewd, expensive wives; no stupid, proud pedants; no importunate, overbearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited, swearing companions; no scoundrels raised from the dust upon the merit of their vices, or nobility thrown into it on account of their virtues; no lords, fiddlers, judges, or dancing-masters.

I had the favour of being admitted to several *Houyhnhnms*, who came to visit or dine with my master; where his honour graciously suffered me to wait in the room, and listen to their discourse. Both he and his company would often descend to ask me questions, and receive my answers. I had also sometimes the honour of attending my master in his visits to others. I never presumed to speak, except in answer to a question; and then I did it with inward regret, because it was a loss

of so much time for improving myself: but I was infinitely delighted with the station of an humble auditor in such conversations, where nothing passed but what was useful, expressed in the fewest and most significant words: where, as I have already said, the greatest decency was observed, without the least degree of ceremony; where no person spoke without being pleased himself, and pleasing his companions; where there was no interruption, tediousness, heat, or difference of sentiments. They have a notion, that when people are met together, a short silence does much improve conversation; this I found to be true; for, during those little intermissions of talk, new ideas would arise in their minds, which very much enlivened the discourse. Their subjects are generally on friendship and benevolence, on order and economy; sometimes upon the visible operations of nature, or ancient traditions; upon the bounds and limits of virtue; upon the unerring rules of reason, or upon some determination to be taken at the next great assembly: and often upon the various excellencies of poetry. I may add, without vanity, that my presence often gave them sufficient matter for discourse, because it afforded my master an occasion of letting his friends into the history of me and my country, upon which they were all pleased to descant, in a manner not very advantageous to human kind: and for that reason I shall not repeat what they said: only I may be allowed to observe, that his honour, to my great admiration, appeared to understand the nature of *Yahoos* much better than myself. He went through all our vices and follies, and discovered many, which I had never mentioned to him, by only supposing what qualities a *Yahoo* of their country, with a small proportion of reason, might be capable of exerting; and concluded, with too much probability, "how vile as well as miserable such a creature must be."

I freely confess, that all the little knowledge I have of any value, was acquired by the lectures I received from my master,

to hearing the discourses of him and his friends; to which I should be prouder to listen, than to dictate to the greatest and wisest assembly in Europe. I admired the strength, comeliness, and speed of the inhabitants; and such a constellation of virtues, in such amiable persons, produced in me the highest veneration. At first, indeed, I did not feel that natural awe, which the *Yahoos* and all other animals bear towards them; but it grew upon me by degrees, much sooner than I imagined, and was mingled with a respectful love and gratitude, that they would condescend to distinguish me from the rest of my species.

When I thought of my family, my friends, my countrymen, or the human race in general, I considered them, as they really were, *Yahoos* in shape and disposition, perhaps a little more civilized, and qualified with the gift of speech; but making no other use of reason, than to improve and multiply those vices whereof their brethern in this country had only the share that nature allotted them. When I happened to behold the reflection of my own form in a lake or fountain, I turned away my face in horror and detestation of myself; and could better endure the sight of a common *Yahoo*, than of my own person. By conversing with the *Houyhnhnms*, and looking upon them with delight, I fell to imitate their gait and gesture, which is now grown into a habit; and my friends often tell me, in a blunt way, "that I trot like a horse;" which, however, I take for a great compliment: neither shall I disown, that in speaking I am apt to fall into the voice and manners of the *Houyhnhnms*, and hear myself ridiculed on that account, without the least mortification.

In the midst of all the happiness, and when I looked upon myself to be fully settled for life, my master sent for me one morning a little earlier than his usual hour. I observed by his countenance that he was in some perplexity, and at a loss how to begin what he had to speak. After a short silence.

he told me "he did not know how I would take what was going to say: that in the last general assembly, when the affair of the *Yahoos* was entered upon, the representatives had taken offence at his keeping a *Yahoo* (meaning myself) in his family, more like a *Houyhnhnm* than a brute animal; that he was known frequently to converse with me, as if he could receive some advantage or pleasure in my company; that such a practice was not agreeable to reason or nature, or a thing ever heard of before among them; the assembly did therefore exhort him either to employ me like the rest of my species, or command me to swim back to the place whence I came: that the first of these expedients was utterly rejected by all the *Houyhnhnms* who had ever seen me at his house or their own; for they alleged, that because I had some rudiments of reason, added to the natural gravity of those animals, it was to be feared I might be able to seduce them into the woody and mountainous parts of the country, and bring them in troops by night to destroy the *Houyhnhnms'* cattle, as being naturally of the ravenous kind, and averse from labour."

My master added, "that he was daily pressed by the *Houyhnhnms* of the neighbourhood, to have the assembly's exhortation executed, which he could not put off much longer. He doubted it would be impossible for me to swim to another country; and therefore wished I would contrive some sort of vehicle resembling those I had described to him, that might carry me on the sea; in which work I should have the assistance of his own servants, as well as those of his neighbours." He concluded, "that for his own part, he could have been content to keep me in his service as long as I lived; because he found I had cured myself of some bad habits and dispositions, by endeavouring, as far as my inferior nature was capable, to imitate the *Houyhnhnms*."

I should here observe to the reader, that a decree of the general assembly in this country, is expressed by the word

hnhloayn, which signifies an exhortation, as near as I can render it : for they have no conception how a rational creature can be compelled, but only advised, or exhorted ; because no person can disobey reason, without giving up his claim to be a rational creature.

I was struck with the utmost grief and despair at my master's discourse ; and being unable to support the agonies I was under, I fell into a swoon at his feet. When I came to myself, he told me, " that he concluded I had been dead ;" for these people are subject to no such imbecilities of nature. I answered, in a faint voice, " that death would have been too great a happiness : that although I could not blame the assembly's exhortation, or the urgency of his friends ; yet, in my weak and corrupt judgment, I thought it might consist with reason to have been less rigorous : that I could not swim a league, and probably the nearest land to theirs might be distant above a hundred : that many materials, necessary for making a small vessel to carry me off, were wholly wanting in this country ; which, however, I would attempt, in obedience and gratitude to his honour, although I concluded the thing to be impossible, and therefore looked on myself as already devoted to destruction : that the certain prospect of an unnatural death was the least of my evils ; for, supposing I should escape with life by some strange adventure, how could I think with temper of passing my days among *Yahoos*, and relapsing into my old corruptions, for want of examples to lead and keep me within the paths of virtue ? that I knew too well upon what solid reasons all the determinations of the wise *Houyhnhnms* were founded, not to be shaken by arguments of mine, a miserable *Yahoo* ; and therefore, after presenting him with my humble thanks for the offer of his servant's assistance in making a vessel, and desiring a reasonable time for so difficult a work, I told him I would endeavour to preserve a wretched being ; and if ever I returned to England, was not without

hopes of being useful to my own species, by celebrating the praises of the renowned *Houyhnhnms*, and proposing their virtues to the imitation of mankind."

My master, in a few words, made me a very gracious reply ; allowed me the space of two months to finish my boat : and ordered the sorrel nag, my fell ow-servant (for so at this distance I may presume to call him), to follow my instruction ; because I told my master, " that his help would be sufficient, and I knew he had a tenderness for me."

In his company, my first business was to go to that part of the coast where my rebellious crew had ordered me to be set on shore. I got upon a height, and looking on every side into the sea, fancied I saw a small island towards the north-east : I took out my pocket glass, and could then clearly distinguish it about five leagues off, as I computed : but it appeared to the sorrel nag to be only a blue cloud : for as he had no conception of any country beside his own, so he could not be as expert in distinguishing remote objects at sea, as we who so much converse* in that element.

After I had discovered this island, I considered no farther ; but resolved it should, if possible, be the first place of my banishment, leaving the consequence to fortune.

I returned home, and consulting with the sorrel nag, we went into a copse at some distance, where I with my knife, and he with a sharp flint, fastened very artificially after their manner to a wooden handle cut down several oak wattles, about the thickness of a walking-staff, and some larger pieces. But I shall not trouble the reader with a particular description of my own mechanics ; let it suffice to say, that in six weeks' time, with the help of the sorrel nag, who performed the parts that required most labour, I finished a sort of Indian canoe

* This is an uncommon use of the word " converse : " instead of the verb, the adjective is always employed in this sense ; as thus—" as we who are so conversant in that element."—S.

cut much larger, covering it with the skins of *Yahoos*, well stitched together with hempen threads of my own making. My sail was likewise composed of the skins of the same animal; but I made use of the youngest I could get, the older being too tough and thick: and I likewise provided myself with four paddles. I laid in a stock of boiled flesh, of rabbits and fowls; and took with me two vessels, one filled with milk and the other with water.

I tried my canoe in a large pond, near my master's house, and then corrected in it what was amiss; stopping all the chinks with *Yahoos'* tallow, till I found it staunch, and able to bear me and my freight; and, when it was as complete as I could possibly make it, I had it drawn on a carriage very gently by the *Yahoos* to the sea-side, under the conduct of the sorrel nag and another servant.

When all was ready, and the day came for my departure, I took leave of my master and lady and the whole family, my eyes flowing with tears, and my heart quite sunk with grief. But his honour, out of curiosity, and perhaps (if I may speak it without vanity) partly out of kindness, was determined to see me in my canoe; and got several of his neighbouring friends to accompany him. I was forced to wait above an hour for the tide, and then observing the wind very fortunately bearing towards the island to which I intended to steer my course, I took a second leave of my master: but as I was going to prostrate myself to kiss his hoof, he did me the honour to raise it gently to my mouth. I am not ignorant how much I have been censured for mentioning this last particular. Detractors are pleased to think it improbable, that so illustrious a person should descend to give so great a mark of distinction to a creature so inferior as I. Neither have I forgotten how apt some travellers are to boast of extraordinary favours they have received. But, if these censurers were better acquainted

with the noble and courteous disposition of the *Houyhnhnms*, they would soon change their opinion.

I paid my respects to the rest of the *Houyhnhnms* in his honour's company; then getting into my canoe, I pushed off from shore.

CHAPTER XI.

The Author's dangerous voyage—He arrives at New Holland, hoping to settle there—Is wounded with an arrow by one of the natives—Is seized and carried by force into a Portuguese ship—The great civilities of the captain—The Author arrives at England.

I BEGAN this desperate voyage on February 15, 1714–15, at nine o'clock in the morning. The wind was very favourable; however, I made use at first only of my paddles: but considering I should soon be weary, and that the wind might chop about, I ventured to set up my little sail; and thus, with the help of the tide, I went at the rate of a league and a half an hour, as near as I could guess. My master and his friends continued on the shore till I was almost out of sight; and I often heard the sorrel nag (who always loved me) crying out, "*Hnuy illa nyha majah Yahoo*;" "take care of thyself, gentle Yahoo."

My design was, if possible, to discover some small island uninhabited, yet sufficient by my labour to furnish me with the necessaries of life, which I would have thought a greater happiness, than to be first minister in the politest court of Europe; so horrible was the idea I conceived of returning to live in the society, and under the government of *Yahoos*. For in such a solitude as I desired, I could at least enjoy my own thoughts, and reflect with delight on the virtues of those inimitable *Houyhnhnms*, without an opportunity of degenerating into the vices and corruptions of my own species.

The reader may remember what I related, when my crew conspired against me, and confined me to my cabin; how I continued there several weeks without knowing what course we took; and when I was put ashore in the long-boat, how the sailors told me with oaths, whether true or false, "that they knew not in what part of the world we were." However, I did then believe us to be about 10 degrees southward of the Cape of Good Hope, or about 45 degrees southern latitude, as I gathered from some general words I overheard among them, being as I supposed to the south-east in their intended voyage to Madagascar. And although this were little better than conjecture, yet I resolved to steer my course eastward, hoping to reach the south-west coast of New Holland, and perhaps some such island as I desired lying westward of it. The wind was full west, and by six in the evening I computed I had gone eastward at least eighteen leagues: when I spied a small island about half a league off, which I soon reached. It was nothing but a rock, with one creek naturally arched by the force of tempests. Here I put in my canoe, and climbing a part of the rock, I could plainly discover land to the east, extending from south to north. I lay all night in my canoe; and repeating my voyage early in the morning, I arrived in seven hours to the south-east point of New Holland. This confirmed me in the opinion I have long entertained, that the maps and charts place this country at least three degrees more to the east than it really is; which thought I communicated many years ago to my worthy friend, Mr. Herman Moll, and gave him my reasons for it, although he has rather chosen to follow other authors.

I saw no inhabitants in the place where I landed, and being unarmed I was afraid of venturing far into the country. I found some shell-fish on the shore, and ate them raw, not daring to kindle a fire, for fear of being discovered by the natives. I continued three days feeding on oysters and

limpets, to save my own provision; and I fortunately found a brook of excellent water, which gave me great relief.

On the fourth day, venturing out early a little too far, I saw twenty or thirty natives upon a height not above five hundred yards from me. They were stark naked, men, women, and children, round a fire, as I could discover by the smoke. One of them spied me, and gave notice to the rest; five of them advanced towards me, leaving the women and children at the fire. I made what haste I could to the shore, and getting into my canoe, shoved off; the savages observing me retreat, ran after me; and before I could get far enough into the sea, discharged an arrow, which wounded me deeply on the inside of my left knee: I shall carry the mark to my grave. I apprehended the arrow might be poisoned, and paddling out of the reach of their darts (being a calm day), I made a shift to suck the wound, and dress it as well as I could.

I was at a loss what to do, for I durst not return to the same landing-place, but stood to the north, and was forced to paddle; for the wind though very gentle, was against me, blowing north-west. As I was looking about for a secure landing-place, I saw a sail to the north-north-east, which appearing every minute more visible, I was in some doubt whether I should wait for them or not; but at last my detestation of the *Yahoo* race prevailed: and turning my canoe, I sailed and paddled towards the south, and got into the same creek whence I set out in the morning, choosing rather to trust myself among these barbarians, than live with European *Yahoos*. I drew up my canoe as close as I could to the shore, and hid myself behind a stone by the little brook, which as I have already said was excellent water.

The ship came within half a league of this creek, and sent her longboat with vessels to take in fresh water (for the place it seems was very well known); but I did not observe it, till

the boat was almost on shore ; and it was too late to seek another hiding place. The seamen at their landing observed my canoe, and rummaging it all over, easily conjectured that the owner could not be far off. Four of them, well armed, searched every cranny and lurking-hole, till at last they found me flat on my face behind the stone. They gazed awhile in admiration at my strange, uncouth dress : my coat made of skins, my wooden-soled shoes, and my furred stockings ; whence, however, they concluded, I was not a native of the place, who all go naked. One of the seamen, in Portuguese, bid me rise, and asked me who I was. I understood that language very well, and getting upon my feet, said, " I was a poor *Yahoo* banished from the *Houyhnhnms*, and desired they would please to let me depart." They admired to hear me answer them in their own tongue, and saw by my complexion I must be a European ; but were at a loss to know what I meant by *Yahoo* and *Houyhnhnms* ; and at the same time fell a laughing at my strange tone in speaking, which resembled the neighing of a horse. I trembled all the while betwixt fear and hatred. I again desired leave to depart, and was gently moving to my canoe : but they laid hold of me, desiring to know, " what country I was of ? whence I came ?" with many other questions. I told them " I was born in England, whence I came about five years, ago, and then their country and ours were at peace. I therefore hoped they would not treat me as an enemy, since I meant them no harm ; but was a poor *Yahoo* seeking some desolate place where to pass the remainder of his unfortunate life."

When they began to talk, I thought I never heard or saw anything more unnatural ; for it appeared to me as monstrous as if a dog or a cow should speak in England, or a *Yahoo* in *Houyhnhnmland*. The honest Portuguese were equally amazed at my strange dress, and the old manner of delivering my words, which however they understood very well. They

spoke to me with great humanity, and said, "they were sure the captain would carry me *gratis* to Lisbon, whence I might return to my own country; that two of the seamen would go back to the ship, inform the captain of what they had seen, and receive his orders; in the mean time, unless I would give my solemn oath not to fly, they would secure me by force." I thought it best to comply with their proposal. They were very curious to know my story, I gave them very little satisfaction, and they all conjectured that my misfortunes had impaired my reason. In two hours the boat, which went laden with vessels of water, returned, with the captain's command to fetch me on board. I fell on my knees to preserve my liberty; but all was in vain; and the men, having tied me with cords, heaved me into the boat, whence I was taken to the ship, and thence into the captain's cabin.

His name was Pedro de Mendez; he was a very courteous and generous person. He entreated me to give some account of myself, and desired to know what I would eat or drink; said, "I should be used as well as himself;" and spoke so many obliging things, that I wondered to find such civilities from a *Yahoo*. However I remained silent and sullen; I was ready to faint at the very smell of him and his men. At last I desired something to eat out of my own canoe; but he ordered me a chicken, and some excellent wine, and then directed that I should be put to bed in a very clean cabin. I would not undress myself, but lay on the bed-clothes, and in half an hour stole out, when I thought the crew was at dinner, and getting to the side of the ship, was going to leap into the sea, and swim for my life, rather than continue among *Yahoos*. But one of the seamen prevented me, and having informed the captain, I was chained to my cabin.

After dinner, Don Pedro came to me, desired to know my reason for so desperate an attempt; assured me, "he only meant to do me all the service he was able;" and spoke so

very movingly, that at last I descended to treat him like an animal which had some little portion of reason. I gave him a very short relation of my voyage ; of the conspiracy against me by my own men : of the country where they set me on shore, and of my five years' residence there ; all which he looked upon as if it were a dream or a vision ; whereat I took great offence ; for I had quite forgot the faculty of lying, so peculiar to *Yahoos*, in all countries where they preside, and, consequently, the disposition of suspecting truth in others of their own species. I asked him, "whether it were the custom in his country to say the thing which was not?" I assured him, "I had almost forgot what he meant by falsehood, and if I had lived a thousand years in *Houyhnhnmland*, I should never have heard a lie from the meanest servant ; that I was altogether indifferent whether he believed me or not ; but, however, in return for his favours I would give so much allowance to the corruption of his nature, as to answer any objection he might please to make, and then he might easily discover the truth."

The captain, a wise man, after many endeavours to catch me tripping in some part of my story, at last began to have a better opinion of my veracity. But he added, "that since I professed so inviolable an attachment to truth, I must give him my word and honour to bear him company in this voyage, without attempting anything against my life : or else he would continue me a prisoner till we arrived at Lisbon." I gave him the promise he required ; but at the same time protested, "that I would suffer the greatest hardships, rather than return to live among *Yahoos*."

Our voyage passed without any considerable accident. In gratitude to the captain, I sometimes sat with him, at his earnest request, and strove to conceal my antipathy against human kind, although it often broke out ; which he suffered to pass without observation. But the greatest part of the day I con-

fined myself to my cabin, to avoid seeing any of the crew. The captain had often entreated me to strip myself of my savage dress, and offered to lend me the best suit of clothes he had. This I would not be prevailed on to accept, abhorring to cover myself with any thing that had been on the back of a *Yahoo*. I only desired he would lend me two clean shirts, which, having been washed since he wore them, I believed would not so much defile me. These I change every second day, and washed them myself.

We arrived at Lisbon, Nov. 5, 1715. At our landing, the captain forced me to cover myself with his cloak, to prevent the rabble from crowding about me. I was conveyed to his own house; and at my earnest request he led me up to the highest room backward. I conjured him "to conceal from all persons what I had told him of the *Houyhnhnms*; because the least hint of such a story would not only draw numbers of people to see me, but probably put me in danger of being imprisoned, or burnt by the Inquisition." The captain persuaded me to accept a suit of clothes newly made; but I would not suffer the tailor to take my measure; however, Don Pedro being almost of my size, they fitted me well enough. He accoutred me with other necessaries, all new, which I aired for twenty-four hours before I would use them.

The captain had no wife, nor above three servants, none of which were suffered to attend at meals; and his whole deportment was so obliging, added to very good human understanding, that I really began to tolerate his company. He gained so far upon me, that I ventured to look out of the back window. By degrees I was brought into another room whence I peeped into the street, but drew my head back in a fright. In a week's time he seduced me down to the door. I found my terror gradually lessened, but my hatred and contempt seemed to increase. I was at last bold enough to walk the street in his company, but kept my nose well stopped with rue, or sometimes with tobacco.

In ten days, Don Pedro, to whom I had given some account of my domestic affairs, put it upon me, as a matter of honour and conscience, "that I ought to return to my native country, and live at home with my wife and children." He told me, "there was an English ship in the port just ready to sail, and he would furnish me with all things necessary." It would be tedious to repeat his argument, and my contradictions. He said, "it was altogether impossible to find such a solitary island as I desired to live in ; but I might command in my own house, and pass my time in a manner as recluse as I pleased."

I complied at last, finding I could not do better. I left Lisbon the 24th day of November, in an English merchantman ; but who was the master I never inquired. Don Pedro accompanied me to the ship and lent me twenty pounds. He took kind leave of me, and embraced me at parting, which I bore as well I could. During this last voyage I had no commerce with the master or any of his men ; but pretending I was sick, kept close in my cabin. On the fifth of December, 1715, we cast anchor in the Downs, about nine in the morning, and at three in the afternoon I got safe to my house at Redriff.

My wife and family received me with great surprise and joy, because they concluded me certainly dead ; but I must freely confess the sight of them filled me only with hatred, disgust, and contempt ; and the more, by reflecting on the near alliance I had to them. For although, since my unfortunate exile from the *Houyhnhnms'* country, I had compelled myself to tolerate the sight of *Yahoos*, and to converse with Don Pedro de Mendez, yet my memory and imagination were perpetually filled with the virtues and ideas of those exalted *Houyhnhnms*. And when I began to consider that, by copulating with one of the *Yahoo* species I had become a parent of more, it struck me with the utmost shame, confusion, and horror.

As soon as I entered the house, my wife took me in her

arms, and kissed me ; at which, having not been used to the touch of that odious animal for so many years, I fell into a swoon for almost an hour. At the time I am writing, it is five years since my last return to England ; during the first year, I could not endure my wife or children in my presence ; the very smell of them was intolerable ; much less could I suffer them to eat in the same room. To this hour they dare not presume to touch my bread, or drink out of the same cup, neither was I ever able to let one of them take me by the hand. The first money I laid out was to buy two young stone-horses, which I keep in a good stable ; and next to them, the groom is my greatest favourite ; for I feel my spirits revived by the smell he contracts in the stable. My horses understand me tolerably well ; I converse with them at least four hours every day. They are strangers to bridle or saddle ; they live in great amity with me, and friendship to each other.

CHAPTER XII.

The Author's veracity—His design in publishing this work—His censure of those travellers who swerve from the truth—The Author clears himself from any sinister ends in writing—An objection answered—The method of planting colonies—His native country commended—The right of the crown to those countries described by the Author, is justified—The difficulty of conquering them—The Author takes his last leave of the reader ; proposes his manner of living for the future ; gives good advice, and concludes.

THUS, gentle reader, I have given thee a faithful history of my travels for sixteen years and above seven months : wherein I have not been so studious of ornament as of truth. I could, perhaps, like others, have astonished thee with strange improbable tales ; but I rather choose to relate plain matter of fact, in the simplest manner and style ; because my principal design was to inform, and not to amuse thee.

It is easy for us who travel into remote countries, which are seldom visited by Englishmen or other Europeans, to form descriptions of wonderful animals both at sea and land. Whereas a traveller's chief aim should be to make men wiser and better, and improve their minds by the bad, as well as good example, of what they deliver concerning foreign places.

I could heartily wish a law was enacted, that every traveller, before he were permitted to publish his voyages, should be obliged to make oath before the Lord High Chancellor, that all he intended to print was absolutely true to the best of his knowledge ; for then the world would no longer be deceived, as it usually is while some writers, to make their works pass

the better upon the public, impose the grossest falsities on the unwary reader. I have perused several books of travels with great delight in my younger days ; but having since gone over most parts of the globe, and been able to contradict many fabulous accounts from my own observation, it has given me a great disgust against this part of reading, and some indignation to see the credulity of mankind so impudently abused. Therefore, since my acquaintance were pleased to think my poor endeavours might not be unacceptable to my country, I imposed on myself as a maxim never to be swerved from, that I would strictly adhere to truth ; neither indeed can I be ever under the least temptation to vary from it, while I retain in my mind the lectures and example of my noble master and the other illustrious *Houyhnhnms* of whom I had so long the honour to be an humble hearer.

———Nec si miserum Fortuna Sinonem
Finixit, vanum etiam, mendacemque improba finget.

I know very well, how little reputation is to be got by writings, which require neither genius nor learning, nor indeed any other talent except a good memory, or an exact journal. I know likewise, that writers of travels, like dictionary-makers, are sunk into oblivion by the weight and bulk of those who come last, and therefore lie uppermost. And it is highly probable, that such travellers, who shall hereafter visit the countries described in this work of mine, may, by detecting my errors (if there be any), and adding many new discoveries of their own, jostle me out of vogue, and stand in my place, making the world forget that ever I was an author. This indeed would be too great a mortification, if I wrote for fame : but as my sole intention was the public good, I cannot be altogether disappointed. For who can read of the virtues I have mentioned in the glorious *Houyhnhnms*, without being ashamed of his own vices, when he considers himself as the reasoning, governing

animal of his country? I shall say nothing of those remote nations where *Yahoos* preside; among which the least corrupted are the *Brobdingnagians*; whose wise maxims in morality and government it would be our happiness to observe. But I forbear descanting farther, and rather leave the judicious reader to his own remarks and application.

I am not a little pleased, that this work of mine can possibly meet with no censurers; for what objections can be made against a writer, who relates only plain facts, that happened in such distant countries, where we have not the least interest, with respect either to trade or negotiations? I have carefully avoided every fault, with which common writers of travels are often too justly charged. Besides, I meddle not the least with any party, but write without passion, prejudice, or ill-will against any man, or number of men whatsoever. I write for the noblest end, to inform and instruct mankind; over whom I may, without breach of modesty, pretend to some superiority, from the advantages I received by conversing so long among the most accomplished *Houyhnhnms*. I write without any view to profit or praise. I never suffer a word to pass that may look like reflection, or possibly give the least offence, even to those who are most ready to take it. So that I hope I may with justice pronounce myself an author perfectly blameless; against whom the tribes of Answerers, Considerers, Observers, Reflectors, Detectors, Remarkers, will never be able to find matter for exercising their talents.

I confess, it was whispered to me, that I was bound in duty as a subject of England, to have given in a memorial to a secretary of state at my first coming over; because whatever lands are discovered by a subject, belong to the crown.

But I doubt, whether our conquests, in the countries I treat of, would be as easy as those of Ferdinando Cortez over the naked Americans. The *Lilliputians*, I think, are hardly worth the charge of a fleet and army to reduce them; and

question whether it might be prudent or safe to attempt the *Brobdingnagians* ; or whether an English army would be much at their ease, with the Flying Island over their heads. The *Houyhnhnms* indeed appeared not to be so well prepared for war, a science to which they are perfect strangers, and especially against missive weapons. However, supposing myself to be a minister of state, I could never give my advice for invading them. Their prudence, unanimity, unacquaintedness with fear, and their love of their country, would amply supply all defects in the military art. Imagine twenty thousand of them breaking into the midst of a European army, confounding the ranks, overturning the carriages, battering the warriors' faces into mummy by terrible jerks from their hinder hoofs, for they would deserve the character given to Augustus, *Recalcitrat undique tutus*. But instead of proposals for conquering that magnanimous nation, I rather wish they were in a capacity, or disposition, to send a sufficient number of their inhabitants for civilizing Europe, by teaching us the first principles of honour, justice, truth, temperance, public spirit, fortitude, chastity, friendship, benevolence, and fidelity. The names of all which virtues are still retained among us in most languages, and are to be met with in modern, as well as ancient authors ; which I am able to assert from my own small reading.

But I had another reason, which made me less forward to enlarge his majesty's dominions by my discoveries. To say the truth, I had conceived a few scruples with relation to the distributive justice of princes upon those occasions. For instance, a crew of pirates are driven by a storm they know not whither ; at last a boy discovers land from the topmast ; they go on shore to rob and plunder ; they see a harmless people ; are entertained with kindness ; they give the country a new name ; they take formal possession of it for their king ; they set up a rotten plank, or a stone, for a memorial ; they murder two or three dozen of the natives, bring away a couple

nore, by force, for a sample ; return home and get their portion. Here commences a new dominion acquired with a title by divine right. Ships are sent with the first opportunity ; the natives driven out or destroyed ; their princes tortured to discover their gold ; a free license given to all acts of inhumanity and lust, the earth reeking with the blood of its inhabitants ; and this execrable crew of butchers, employed in so pious an expedition, is a modern colony, sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous people !

But this description, I confess, does by no means affect the British nation, who may be an example to the whole world for their wisdom, care, and justice in planting colonies : their liberal endowments for the advancement of religion and learning ; their choice of devout and able pastors to propagate Christianity ; their caution in stocking their provinces with people of sober lives and conversations from this the mother kingdom ; their strict regard to the distribution of justice, in supplying the civil administration through all their colonies with officers of the greatest abilities, utter strangers to corruption ; and, to crown all, by sending the most vigilant and virtuous governors, who have no other views than the happiness of the people over whom they preside, and the honour of the king their master.

But as those countries, which I have described, do not appear to have any desire of being conquered and enslaved, murdered or driven out, by colonies ; nor abound either in gold, silver, sugar, or tobacco, I did humbly conceive, they were by no means proper objects of our zeal, our valour, or our interest. However, if those whom it more concerns, think fit to be of another opinion, I am ready to depose, when I shall be lawfully called, that no European did ever visit those countries before me. I mean if the inhabitants ought to be believed, unless a dispute may arise concerning the two *Yahoos*,

said to have been seen many years ago upon a mountain in *Houyhnhnm*land.

But, as to the formality of taking possession in my sovereign's name, it never once came into my thoughts; and if it had, yet, as my affairs then stood, I should perhaps in point of prudence and self-preservation, have put it off to a better opportunity.

Having thus answered the only objection that can ever be raised against me as a traveller, I here take a final leave of all my courteous readers, and return to enjoy my own speculations in my little garden at Redriff; to apply these excellent lessons of virtue, which I learned among the *Houyhnhnms*; to instruct the *Yahoos* of my own family, as far as I shall find them docible animals; to behold my figure often in a glass, and thus, if possible, habituate myself by time to tolerate the sight of a human creature; to lament the brutality of *Houyhnhnms* in my own country, but always treat their persons with respect, for the sake of my noble master, his family, his friends, and the whole *Houyhuhnm* race, whom these of ours have the honour to resemble in all their lineaments, however their intellectuals came to degenerate.

I began last week to permit my wife to sit at dinner with me, at the farthest end of a long table; and to answer (but with the utmost brevity) the few questions I asked her. Yet, the smell of a *Yahoo* continuing very offensive, I always kept my nose well stopped with rue, lavender, or tobacco leaves. And, although it be hard for a man late in life to remove old habits, I am not altogether out of hopes, in some time, to suffer a neighbour *Yahoo* in my company, without the apprehensions I am yet under of his teeth or his claws.

My reconciliation to the *Yahoo* kind in general might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those vices and follies only, which nature has entitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the sight of a lawyer, a pickpocket, a

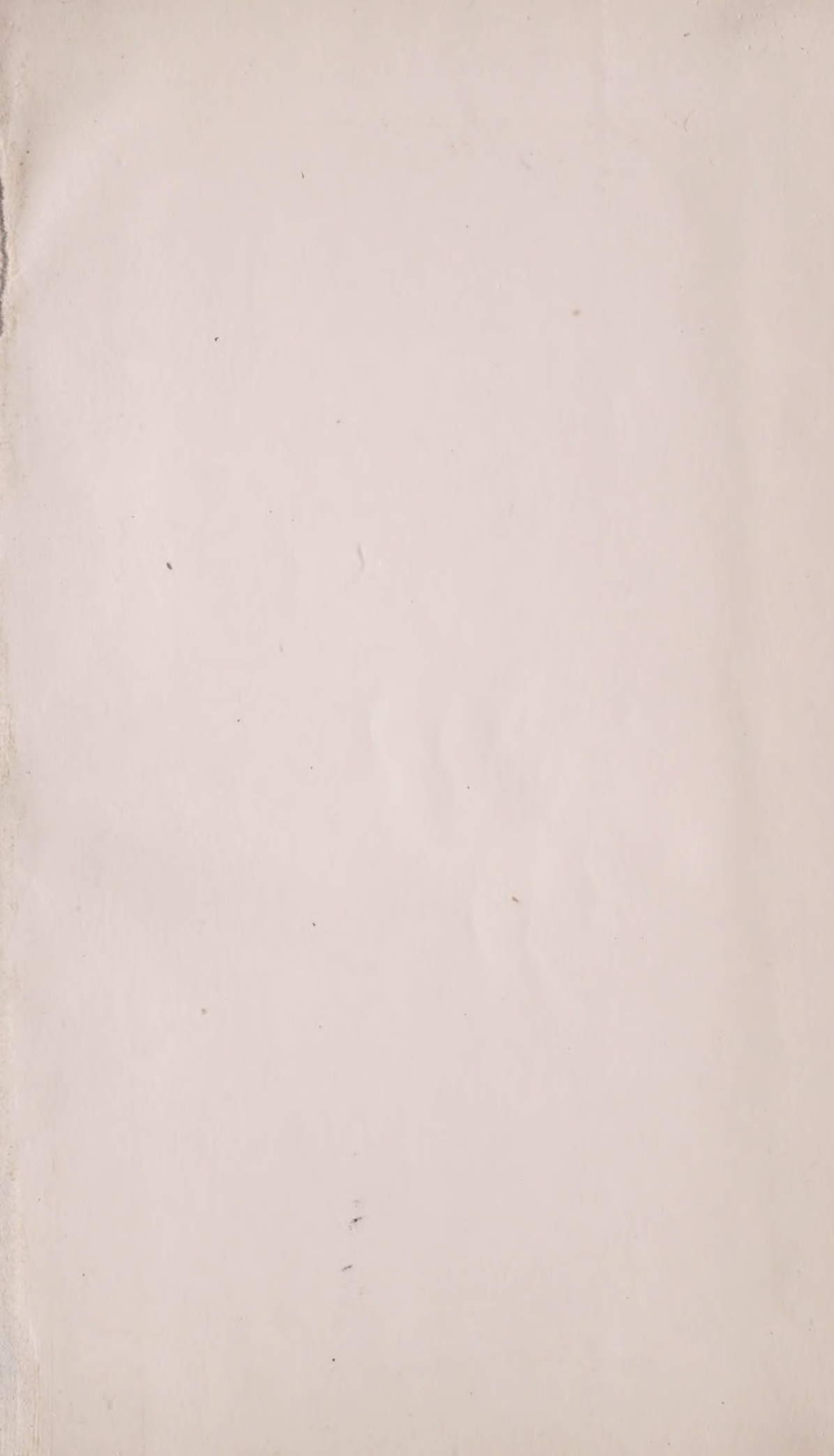
colonel, a fool, a lord, a gamester, a politician, a whoremonger, a physician, an evidence, a suborner, an attorney, a traitor, or the like; this is all according to the due course of things: but when I behold a lump of deformity and diseases, both in body and mind, smitten with pride, it immediately breaks all the measures of my patience; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an animal, and such a vice, could tally together. The wise and virtuous *Houyhnhnms*, who abound in all the excellencies that can adorn a rational creature, have no name for this vice in their language; which has no terms to express any thing that is evil, except those whereby they describe the detestable qualities of their *Yahoos*; among which they were not able to distinguish this of pride, for want of thoroughly understanding human nature, as it shews itself in other countries where that animal presides. But I, who had more experience, could plainly observe some rudiments of it among the wild *Yahoos*.

But the *Houyhnhnms*, who live under the government of reason, are no more proud of the good qualities they possess, than I should be for not wanting a leg or an arm; which no man in his wits would boast of, although he must be miserable without them. I dwell the longer upon this subject, from the desire I have to make the society of an English *Yahoo* by any means not insupportable; and therefore I here entreat those who have any tincture of this absurd vice, that they will not presume to come in my sight.

THE END.

Mind

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